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*Growth and Development
of the Preadolescent*



TEXTBOOKS IN EDUCATION

William H. Burton, *Consulting Editor*

Growth and Development of the Preadolescent

ARTHUR WITT BLAIR

*Director, Department of Education and Psychology
North Texas State College*

and

WILLIAM H. BURTON

*Director of Apprenticeship, Graduate School of Education
Harvard University*



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PREFACE

We present a modest effort to open up a field which has been neglected, namely the psychology of the preadolescent period. We make no claims to great originality. Research from widely scattered fields has been gathered and critically analyzed. We have tried to develop a description of boys and girls as they live and grow during the period of later childhood. Principles and suggestions for understanding these children have been cautiously drawn from the data as we found them. Several studies of early childhood and of adolescence were used when we believed insight was aided by these studies.

The analysis of available investigations, and the effort to develop principles, we found to be extremely interesting. The studies, drawn from many fields and carried on independently, seemed to us to present a reasonably consistent picture. A few somewhat startling facts and conclusions appeared but these were well supported. We have presented the outlines of this period as faithfully as we knew how.

The volume may serve as a basic text in courses dealing with the intermediate-grade child. Courses of this type are increasing in number and may be found in the divisions of elementary education and of educational psychology. Certain of these courses deal with the growth and development of the child, others with the learning processes of the child, and still others concerned with instruction and the curriculum. A larger array of these courses is needed, and we hope our volume may be of assistance in establishing new offerings.

The book may be used widely also as supplementary read-

ing and as background in courses dealing with early childhood and with adolescence, with guidance and counseling, and with various aspects of the elementary school curriculum, with elementary supervision and administration.

Parents and child study groups should find the material of interest and use.

We hope that the needs of parents, teachers, and those who educate teachers will be served by the summary. We hope very much that one result will be greater attention to and insight into the problems of these children, with attendant research.

A.W.B.

W.H.B.

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*Growth and Development
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I

The Preadolescents: A Neglected Group

Every parent has doubts as to whether children are the blessing reputed in song and story—doubts that deepen when the first child reaches ten years of age. Teachers of the fourth grade must have considered marrying men they do not love in order to escape the ten-year-olds.

What is the matter? Nothing, except that the children are ten years old and are acting as ten-year-olds do act. Redl¹ has cleverly characterized the period from nine to twelve years as the time "when the nicest children often begin to behave in the most awful way." The parents are genuinely annoyed with the children. Often overlooked, but of equal significance, is the fact that the children are equally annoyed with their parents. Behavior, not all bad during these years, has many encouraging and challenging manifestations. It is nevertheless a period trying for parents and teachers who deal with children, and equally so for children who must put up with adults.

Who is to blame? No one. Let us not assess blame but let us try, rather, to find the facts, to try for common understand-

¹ Fritz Redl, "Preadolescents, What Makes Them Tick?," *Child Study* (Winter, 1944), pp. 44-48. Also available as pamphlet No. 1206 from Association for Family Living, 28 E. Jackson St., Chicago 4, Illinois.

W. W. Bauer, *Stop Annoying Your Children* (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1947). Clever, popular discussion of parents and their children.

Blanche C. Weill, *Through Children's Eyes* (New York, Island Workshop Press Co-op., Inc., 1940). A document revealing the often disregarded point of view of children in an adult world. Covers a very wide range.

George Jean Nathan, *Beware of Parents* (New York, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943). Sophisticated satire for sophisticated readers.

ing between the parent-teacher adults and the normal children who are growing up. With information and a sympathetic approach, we may aid children in solving their problems.

A general introduction to the area of later childhood. Before organizing a systematic analysis of growth and development during this period, let us recall some of the commonly observed characteristics of the children involved.

"Why in Heaven's name did you do that? You know better. What's got into you anyway? Can't you be your age? You never used to do that." Turning to another adult the parent or teacher remarks in tones of resignation and despair, "What makes them act that way?" The clue lies in those words: "What makes them act that way?" The guidance of children and the establishment of mutually satisfactory human relations will be aided by authentic information on the causes of their behavior. There must be sympathy and insight too, willingness to see and understand the child's problems and emotions. Another clue is found in: "You never used to act this way." Children leave behind them the ways of baby- and early childhood as they become boys and girls.

The difficulties hinted at are not new. They are not peculiar to "this generation." The parent complains that children are not what they were "in my day." Children now run in front of elders, interrupt parents and guests, seize the food they want, act noisily and boisterously. So did the parents at the same age—but that is forgotten. The parents might be comforted a bit if they knew that the distinguished scholar, Socrates, used almost the same words about the children of his day. The wise old Socrates did not know that five centuries before his day, Confucius had commented upon the behavior of "the younger generation." All this shows that children growing up manifest certain characteristic behaviors. Well, "what makes them act that way?"

Parents and teachers complain that children defy them; "do not respect my authority." Children at home seem some-

times almost to have reverted to age five as they fight against certain routines: going to bed at specified times, forgetting (or refusing) to come home at appointed times, neglecting to brush teeth; refusing to wash hands before coming to the table, resenting and defying requests or demands for regularity or obedience of any kind. Often the routines are useful and helpful to the children themselves. Children kept in after school, no matter for what offense, are, according to their accounts always "being picked on."

The mixture of good and bad behavior further annoys parents and teachers. "You can't tell what they will do next." One day the child coöperates with Dad or Mother in carrying out ordinary household activities; the next day he gaily deserts a task he faithfully promised to fulfill. He goes off to play, to the swimming hole, to the ball game; or he just wanders. This is natural; the boy is slowly growing out of his dependence upon adults for guidance and direction into a self-dependent period. The information and level of judgment that are his are not yet sufficient to allow for assertion and self-direction without errors. Girls will be gentle and respectful one moment, rude and defiant the next. "What makes them act that way?"

Are these children always careless and noisy, annoying to adults? Most assuredly not. The desirable and approved behaviors of this period are numerous and significant. Even some of the actions which do not meet the social approval of adults are significant for the growth and development of the children. Independence and self-reliance are beginning to emerge. The dependence on adults, a characteristic of babyhood and early childhood, is giving way to a developing individuality with its normal desire for self-direction. The boy or girl is self-assertive but without, as yet, sufficient experience to make good judgments.

The boys and girls are learning their sex rôles. They enter this period with sharp antagonism between the sexes: boys hold girls in great contempt and will not associate with them;

girls think boys are noisy, dirty, silly. By the time the period closes, the sexes begin to look upon each other more favorably.

The boys seek groups of their peers; this "gang," which defies parents and teachers, gives the first lessons in getting along with others in give-and-take, in modifying one's desires and actions in terms of other persons. The structure and processes of the children's society, the peer group, are often tragically overlooked by the adults. The loss of security which comes with the break with adults is compensated by firm friendships between boys or among several. Girls similarly form groups of their own, excluding adults along with the boys.

The methods used by adults in handling these children who are growing up have fateful import for the future socialization of the individuals. The budding independence, self-reliance, and self-direction with their mistakes and defiances may be effectually frustrated, or with sympathy and insight may be guided in wholesome growth toward mature personality. The growing maturity which lies behind the mistakes and blundering defiance should be recognized. Children may be invited to discuss some of the difficulties, may be recognized as a part of the family council which makes decisions for the group. Mistakes should be allowed to happen. The fixed routines of early childhood regarding bedtime or coming in after supper may be occasionally relaxed.

The child's greater interest in and growing knowledge of reality is at once a source of annoyance and a wholesome development. The child is less interested in words, less fooled by promises or "sweet talk." He increasingly sees the adults in his world as they are, divested of the halo of feeling which very young children supply for their parents and teachers. Questioning of decisions, arguing back, "being sassy," are wholly natural reactions. The growing objectivity which

lies behind them should be recognized and encouraged, directed toward all aspects of the child's world.

The emotional life of the child is again a source of annoyance but also, if handled with sympathy and insight, may become the basis for worthwhile achievements. The undesirable emotional explosions may on occasion be overlooked but eventually must be "talked out," and the child freed from his disturbance and frustration. Alternative methods of expression must be developed in place of the anti-social or otherwise dangerous reactions. The methods of dealing with children's feelings and emotions in early years have fundamental effect on mental health thereafter.

The growth and development of children during later childhood has not been adequately studied. The literature in elementary education and in child psychology shows clearly that the age roughly from nine until puberty is the "forgotten" period of childhood. It is a no-man's land as far as research is concerned. The literature of psychology shows that a very, very large number of studies have been made of the infancy and early childhood periods. An almost equally large number of studies have been made of the adolescents. Considerably more research has been made of the first three years of the elementary school period than of the last three years. A large number of studies of these various cycles of development have been thrown together in many volumes to reveal a rather accurate picture of the total development of individuals during infancy, early childhood, and adolescence. The materials thus summarized have been very valuable to parents and to professional workers in education in the guidance of children at the levels noted.

No such body of material exists concerning the children from nine to twelve or in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in the elementary school. Parents and teachers at this level do not have the well organized sources of information concerning the children they are rearing or teaching as do the teachers of children and youth at other levels. The chapters

to follow in this volume will, it is hoped, supply some guidance. They will constitute a summary of such studies as have been made which deal with these children.

A number of reasons for this neglect will be advanced in later paragraphs. The neglect is odd from the purely historical point of view, apart from the other reasons, because from the very beginning of the scientific child-study movement in this country there has been definite indication that the years just preceding adolescence present some unique developmental problems. Certain of these unusual characteristics were recognized as early as the turn of the century by G. Stanley Hall, one of the first leaders in the child-study movement. The following quotation shows the accuracy of his observations about these children.

The years from eight to twelve constitute an unique period of human life... the brain has acquired nearly its adult size and weight, health is almost at its best, activity is greater and more varied than ever before or than it will ever be again, and there is peculiar endurance, vitality, and resistance to fatigue. The child develops a life of his own outside the home circle, and its natural interests are never so independent of adult influence.²

His theory was that this period represented what was once the age of maturity in some remote stage of human evolution "when in a warm climate the young of our species once shifted for themselves independently of parental aid. The child revels in savagery... Books and reading are distasteful, for the very soul and body cry out for a more active, objective life, and to know man and nature at first hand."

A few of the very early studies pointed out certain aspects of development between nine and eleven years of age. Buhler³

² G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, Vols. I and II (New York, D. Appleton Co., 1908). An early volume based upon Hall's astonishing ability to observe widely and to draw conclusions based on these observations. He made a number of semi-objective studies, but the bulk of his work was done before the evolution of instruments for the careful study of children.

³ Charlotte Buhler, "Social Behavior of Children," in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Massachusetts, Clark University Press, 1933).

reports a study made in Massachusetts in 1899 which involved 2336 elementary school pupils ranging in age from six to fifteen, describing the beginnings of definite out-of-school group life at about nine or ten years, continuing but changing form during later adolescence. Puffer,⁴ a student of G. Stanley Hall, published a study in 1912 of the gang life of boys based on interviews and studies of 66 boys between the ages of ten and sixteen. He made some distinction between adolescent and preadolescent gangs, pointing out that gang membership becomes more stable and leadership more pronounced after age twelve.

In 1926 Furfey's ⁵ *The Gang Age* appeared. He called his "gang age" preadolescence, but his age range, ten to sixteen, includes what is now commonly known as early adolescence. He did, however, point out the difference in the reaction to gang life of the younger boys, nine to twelve, and the older ones, twelve to fifteen. The younger ones resisted adult supervision; team spirit meant very little until twelve or thereafter. In his later books Furfey differentiated quite sharply between "gang age" and adolescence.

The early writers were here pointing out something that was not recognized as a major factor until almost the current period; namely, the peer society. It is odd that this early hint has been so completely neglected.

The physical development of these children has received a good deal of attention but other aspects relatively little. Writers have tended to generalize about these children by drawing inferences from studies of younger or older groups. The generalizations thus derived naturally show considerable disagreement ranging from the statement by Reynolds⁶ that the period has no great significance and is a placid and happy

⁴ J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang* (Chicago, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912).

⁵ H. Paul Furfey, *The Gang Age* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926).

⁶ Margaret M. Reynolds, *Children from Seed to Saplings* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939).

one, to Zachry's⁷ statement indicating that the period is vitally important and that somebody ought to do something about it.

Three recent studies are available which give further corroboration to the general outlines developed in earlier studies. Gesell and Ilg⁸ in *The Child from Five to Ten*, include a wider age range than that treated here, and they give a number of valuable clues to personality development in the older children. The volume is based upon case studies of about fifty selected children.

The book, *These are Your Children* by Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer,⁹ analyzes personality development of children in the elementary school. Descriptions are given for each age level from five through eleven. The ten- and eleven-year-olds are treated together in one chapter entitled *The Preadolescents*. Summarized are the characteristic behaviors of children in the pubescent period, which is somewhat later than the age period treated in the present volume. These authors do not support their generalizations with citation of the scientific studies from which they are drawn, but statements are quite in line with the facts in available studies. The major portion of the book is devoted to case studies which are of particular value for our purposes.

A contribution of prime importance is being made by the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago, which has given us the concept of "developmental task."

⁷ Caroline B. Zachry, "Understanding the Child During the Latency Period," *Educational Methods*, Volume 17, 1938, pp. 162-165.

Caroline B. Zachry and M. Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940).

⁸ Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *The Child from Five to Ten* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1946).

⁹ Gladys G. Jenkins, Helen Shacter, William W. Bauer, *These are Your Children* (New York, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1949).

Albert J. Huggett and Cecil V. Millard, *Growth and Learning in the Elementary School* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1946). A general textbook which uses and supports the materials being developed in this chapter.

A developmental task is a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, whereas failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks.

The developmental-task concept occupies middle ground between opposed theories of education: the theory of freedom—that the child will develop best if left as free as possible; and the theory of constraint—that the child must learn to become a worthy responsible adult through restraints imposed by his society. A developmental task is midway between an individual need and a societal demand. It partakes of the nature of both.

The authors¹¹ have hit the central issue squarely in attempting to balance the needs of the children with the demands of society. A clue to more adequate handling of children is implicit in the Chicago discussions and will be developed at several points in this volume.

The Chicago Committee originally studied the adolescent period but later included the tasks of infancy, early childhood, later childhood, early adolescence, and later adolescence.

A listing and description of the developmental tasks of later childhood will be found in Chapter 6, Section C of this volume. Meanwhile, we may illustrate as follows: learning to walk, to talk, to control elimination of body wastes; learning the appropriate sex rôle; learning to get along with other children and with adults; developing simple concepts of reality, of right and wrong; learning to read, write, and compute; and many others.

The listing of developmental tasks for later childhood, and the descriptions of characteristics of this period are strikingly similar to, and afford corroboration for, the summaries by the present writers in the chapters to follow.

Why have these children, in later childhood, received so

¹¹ Robert J. Havighurst, *Developmental Tasks and Education* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 4, 6.

An excellent elaboration and explanation is contained in the 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Fostering Mental Health in our Schools*. Chs. 6 and 7.

little attention relatively, from the scientific workers? A number of reasons have been given from time to time by various writers in education and in psychology. The dependence and personal charm of the very young and the relative simplicity of their growth and needs may account for the attraction of psychological workers to that area. The fact that little children do not learn unless well taught has also stimulated much research among nursery, kindergarten, and primary children. Recent psychiatric findings about the importance of the emotional life of little children for future mental health has again stimulated much analysis. The nearness of adolescents to entry into adult status may account for the amount of study made of their needs.

Redl¹² believed that we know so little about the preadolescent because his is an age which is especially disappointing for the adult. Children at this age are hard to live with. Teachers and psychiatrists also find them uncoöperative. Ordinary psychological techniques do not seem to be successful with them. The very characteristics of the older child have been given by Zachry¹³ as the chief reason for the lack of study of this group. The fact that these children are boisterous, dirty, discourteous, secretive, and antagonistic, no longer babies nor yet grown up in our society is enough to turn some professional workers to more likely subjects.

The need is recognized for knowledge concerning children ages nine to twelve. The concept of the whole child has been with us now for some time. Emphasis has been placed upon the growth and development and progressive socialization of the whole child. We have unfortunately very little knowledge about the whole child during the ages nine to twelve nor in fact great knowledge about any part of him. Again there is reason for surprise that with all the current emphasis upon meeting the developmental needs of children that the specific social and personal characteristics of older children and their

¹² "Preadolescents, What Makes Them Tick?" *loc. cit.*

¹³ Zachry, *loc. cit.*

motives have received so little consideration. Curriculum workers, psychologists and psychiatrists have been prone to include the children from six to twelve years in a broad period called "the elementary-school age" and to describe their needs in very broad terms. The younger the groups the more specific are the recognized needs and characteristics. For some time the needs of the older child have been broadly defined in terms of the basic work of Prescott.¹⁴ A number of authors using his classification have stressed the social needs of *affection, belonging, and likeness to others*, and the integrative needs of *contact with reality, harmony with reality, progressive symbolization, increasing self-direction, and attaining selfhood*. Although this broad classification may be generally useful, it is no more specifically applicable to older children than it is to the younger group, adolescents, or adults. What are the present problems, wishes, activities, drives, and the social forces which operate at this level?

The answer to this question should provide a more adequate basis for effective teaching and guidance at this level. A recent report of the American Association of Teachers Colleges¹⁵ in pointing out the emphases that child growth and development should receive in teacher education states, "For the most effective guidance of learning, it is necessary for the teacher to understand the sources and character of the imbalances and tensions or motives propelling the learner." Beyond the early years of childhood when the handicaps of neuromuscular immaturity have largely been overcome, practically all the differences in learning by children and adults may be attributed to differences in motivation and previous experiences. It seems apparent to the writers that the chief problems relating to learning in

¹⁴ Daniel A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1938).

¹⁵ American Association of Teachers Colleges, *Child Growth and Development Emphases in Teacher Education* (Oneonta, New York, American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1944).

children are those of discovering the most adequate motivating conditions and the most effective procedures for the situations in which children develop.

Finley,¹⁶ in recognizing the limitations of studies of the latent or childhood age levels as compared with early childhood and adolescence, says that this limited understanding creates two types of errors made by people dealing with these children. First, standards of conduct and behavior for which the children are not ready are imposed upon them. Second, certain types of behavior are considered as undesirable, which are quite natural for the particular age and, in fact, in some cases play a most constructive part in the child's personality development.

The lack of knowledge or agreement about the personal and social needs of this older group is clearly reflected in the confusion concerning the content or experience to be included in the school curriculum for them. Lee and Lee¹⁷ point out that, except for the skill subjects, there is less agreement than at any other level as to the nature of the curriculum for these boys and girls. Bruner's¹⁸ report that more curriculum materials have been prepared in the language arts field for fourth, fifth, and sixth grades than for any other level or area of the curriculum may be a reflection of the need for a more thorough understanding of these children. The next most frequently revised courses are those in social studies for the same age group.

There are some other indications of the lack of importance attached to this age group. In schools the intermediate grade teachers are the poorest paid when compared with kindergarten-primary, junior high school, and senior

¹⁶ Malcolm Finley, "Developmental Aspects of the Latency Period Significant to Education," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIII (1943), pp. 271-275.

¹⁷ J. Murray Lee, and Dorris M. Lee, *The Child and His Curriculum* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940, 2nd ed., 1950).

¹⁸ Herbert B. Bruner, and others, *What Our Schools Are Teaching* (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941).

high school teachers. Professional interest in the first three years of school has been keen. Special courses, special equipment, special supervisors, even special organizations have been devoted to this level. The junior high school, too, has received the thought and attention due a comparatively new administrative unit. On the other hand, the study of children and of instruction in the middle grades has been relatively neglected. Supervisors and administrative officers are becoming increasingly aware, however, of the need for providing equally good instruction and instructional equipment for the middle grades.

Recent publications by recognized authorities (Lee and Lee,¹⁹ Caswell,²⁰ and Otto²¹) concerning elementary education agree that one of the most urgent needs in improving elementary schooling is a more adequate description of these older children. A report of the American Association of Teachers Colleges²² in emphasizing the need for recognizing the dynamics of "peer culture" in adolescence stresses the need for understanding the beginnings of "peer culture" in preadolescence.

Educators have not been the only professional workers that have recently recognized the need for a better understanding of later childhood. Murphy²³ has pointed out some of the implications and understanding of this group would have for psychiatric practice. Two of the recent books in child psychology have included a section on the preadolescent growth period. Reynolds²⁴ has a short chapter concerning the later elementary school years entitled "The

¹⁹ Lee and Lee, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Hollis L. Caswell and A. W. Foshay, *Education in the Elementary School* (New York, American Book Co., rev. ed., 1950).

²¹ Henry J. Otto, *Elementary School Organization and Administration* 2nd ed. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1944).

²² American Association of Teachers Colleges, *op. cit.*

²³ Lois B. Murphy, "Childhood Experience in Relation to Personality Development," *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt (New York, The Ronald Press, 1944).

²⁴ Reynolds, *op. cit.*

Unknown Age," emphasizing what is not known about these children and outlining a few broad generalizations. An earlier publication by Strang²⁵ has a section called "From the Primary Period to the Adolescent Years." Only a minor portion of this section, however, deals with the social and personal characteristics of this period. The major portion is concerned with physical development, health, and achievement in school subjects.

School practice has long recognized that there is some difference in children during the early and later periods of the elementary school by referring to the primary and intermediate grades, thus separating the first three years from the last three years. The study of children in the younger group has led to a far-reaching revision of curriculum and methods, one of the most obvious of which is the elimination of strict grade barriers in the primary school. One of the most recent coöperative studies of school organization, by Loomis,²⁶ recommends such a functional organization for nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-olds based on their peculiar needs. As yet the needs for this age group have not been made as specific as those for the primary group.

Research from several fields supplies information concerning later childhood. Agreement exists to a fair extent concerning the general cycles through which individuals grow: infancy, early childhood, later childhood, adolescence, maturity, and senescence. These periods are recognized on the basis of physical, social, intellectual, and emotional characteristics rather than on the basis of strict age limits. A good deal of material exists on all these periods except that of later childhood. The present volume makes a sincere effort to provide more adequate description of these older

²⁵ Ruth Strang, *An Introduction to Child Study* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1938).

²⁶ Arthur K. Loomis, "The Internal Organization of a Local School System," *American Education in the Postwar Period*, Forty-fourth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945).

children. Roughly the age is from nine through eleven or more accurately from the beginning of the unique social and intellectual characteristics which distinguish children just previous to the onset and in the early stages of puberty. Exact age limits cannot be set for any type or level of growth in children because gradual change marks the development of any one person. The effort, furthermore, to describe a "typical" or "average" child is always disappointing. We may only gather the characteristics of the children who are passing through a period of development. This gives a wide range within which any given child may be placed. A child in your family or in your classroom may be at any level within this total range. A ten-year-old boy or girl may act like most nine-year-olds, like most ten-year-olds, or like most eleven-year-olds. The pattern of behavior displayed is affected by the level of maturity, by past experience of all kinds, and by the immediate circumstances which called forth the behavior. A given child, nevertheless, will have certain characteristics or will show growth patterns in common with other children of similar age.

Research about these children is widely scattered. Scientific workers in many fields have dealt with these children in the pursuit of isolated or specific aspects of development. Educational research, for instance, gives considerable insight into the nature of the child as it is revealed in studies of classroom behavior, studies of children's needs and interests relating to curriculum development, studies of the organization of materials for effective learning in the upper elementary grades, studies of diagnostic and remedial problems within this group, studies of the status of the curriculum for this level, and studies of administrative provisions for these children.

Psychological research has much to contribute through inferences drawn from studies of children below and above the age range treated here. A number of studies of longitudinal growth and of the growth of intelligence have in-

cluded the particular traits and abilities of this age range.

Clinical psychology and psychiatry have revealed the personal problems common during this cycle of development and have described effective therapy in a wealth of case study material from which valuable implications can be drawn. Psychiatrists have proposed interesting explanations of the behavior and motivations of these individuals. The use of projective techniques has revealed to some extent the inner life of these children.

Through the use of sociometric techniques and through the study of recreational facilities and of social development problems, sociological research has made significant contribution in its findings concerning delinquency at this age and its findings concerning the family structure and relationship.

Anthropological studies have described this age group in primitive and in differing societies and have pointed out the very important implications of these cross-cultural studies of children for understanding the child's life in our own society. A large number of very important anthropological studies have been made within typical American communities in recent years showing the effect of the social class structure on children. These studies will be listed and described in a later chapter.

Materials to come classified around growth and development of the child. The source materials will not be classified, in chapters to follow, according to the field in which they belong academically. The organization is based on the developmental aspects of children. Topics, as we have pointed out earlier, are equally applicable to all levels of children. We wish to emphasize here those particular characteristics of children within the age limits treated. Studies bearing upon a specific aspect of development will, therefore, be treated together regardless of field of origin. We sincerely hope that with this type of coördination and interpretation of studies from various fields we shall, first, give a basis for

a more sympathetic understanding of these older children; second, we hope to show that this particular cycle of development, later childhood, has possibilities which warrant the same kind of special consideration now given to the needs and possibilities of early childhood and of adolescence.

Growth, we know, is continuous. Certain characteristics appear to be more prominent at one age than another. The child's social relationships seem to be the crucial factors during later childhood. The changing social status appears to be largely the result of the socialization process peculiar to our culture. Certain aspects of physical and intellectual development also seem to be related to the child's changing social and personal status, which is accompanied by notable emotional instability and by unpredictable behavior. The chapters which follow will attempt to supply explanations for these characteristics.

The social and personal characteristics, the possibilities of this period for desirable growth and development make it desirable to give these children a distinct status. These years may well be an important part of human development. Accurate knowledge is still limited, further research being suggested by the summary presented in this volume. A great deal of study is yet necessary before programs in home and school for the nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-olds are as closely related to their developmental needs as are programs for other periods of growth. We hope to present some preliminary principles for dealing with these children through recognition of their distinctive status.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Examine, in light of the chapter, curriculum bulletins, courses of study, or resource units recommended for the fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade level.
 - a. Does the analysis thus made substantiate the point made in this chapter that there is little agreement among school people as to what should be taught in the content areas during these years in school; and that the recommended material is not based particu-

larly upon the peculiar needs of youngsters at this level of development?

- b. Does any agreement seem to be appearing as to materials particularly suited to these years? Specify and illustrate.
 - c. What if any bases are given for the selection of recommended activities or material?
 - d. If the bases in "c" (above) are supposedly resident in the nature or needs of the child at these age levels, are there common agreements among the curriculum materials as to the distinct nature or needs of these children?
2. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association publishes at intervals a pamphlet called *A List of Outstanding Teaching and Learning Materials*, which describes briefly the trend in curriculum materials as well as listing recent publications of teaching materials. From the two or three most recent issues of this pamphlet, make an analysis of the materials to determine if it remains true that the largest variety and the greatest number of curriculum bulletins are still being issued for the "middle" grades.
3. The first-grade program of the public schools has probably been influenced more in the past twenty years by specific application of our knowledge about children at that stage of development than any other particular grade or age level.
- a. Interview a teacher of the first grade or a primary supervisor for the purpose of determining the bases for the changes that have taken place in the past twenty years in a good first-year program.
 - b. Conduct a similar interview with a teacher in the fourth, fifth, or sixth grade. Are the reasons given for changes based upon better knowledge of children at that level, a broader concept of learning in general, or upon studies of content materials and skills?
- These may be individual interviews or interviews conducted before a class group.
4. Arrangements should be made if it is at all possible for various kinds of observations of children at this level of development. It seems particularly important that such observations be made before the remaining chapters of this book are studied in order that the student see the children in the light of his present ideas about these years and recognize some of the most obvious problems of socialization. Later observations should show important changes in insight.
- a. Observe a class of nine-, ten-, or eleven-year-olds in the school room; make a record of the following:
 - (1) differences in physical size
 - (2) the differences in size between the boys and girls as a group
 - (3) the maturity of interest as exhibited by the boys and by the girls
 - (4) the reaction of boys toward girls and vice versa
 - (5) apparent range in the intellectual skills (reading, writing, effective speaking, and arithmetic)

- (6) differences of the intellectual skills of the girls as a group with the boys as a group
- (7) efforts to "please" the teacher
- (8) attitude toward a strange adult (observer)
- (9) evidences of small cliques or groups
- b. Observe a group of nine-, ten-, or eleven-year-olds during a free play or supervised play period out-of-doors or in a play room; make a record of the following:
 - (1) describe in every-day adjectives their behavior and attitudes
 - (2) attitude toward the opposite sex near the same age
 - (3) differences in the physical skills of boys and girls
 - (4) note differences in apparent play interests of boys and girls
 - (5) apparent basis for choice of "buddies"
 - (6) attitude toward supervision of play activities
 - (7) attitude toward a strange adult (observer)
- c. Observe a nine-, ten-, or eleven-year-old in his own home if possible and make a record of the following:
 - (1) every-day adjectives that describe his conduct
 - (2) efforts to please parents and other adults
 - (3) attitude of parents toward the child
 - (4) reaction of child to various actions or attitudes of adults
 - (5) apparent responsibility the child takes for the family's welfare
 - (6) actions, attitudes, or situations that apparently please or displease the child
- d. Make as inobtrusive an observation as possible of a nine-to-twelve-year-old when he is alone. This will have to be done casually and as the opportunity presents itself; make some record of the following:
 - (1) do the same adjectives that describe these youngsters in groups and in the family apply when he is alone
 - (2) at what times is he alone
 - (3) what apparently occupies his time and thinking
- e. If possible observe a small natural group of boys and girls of this age away from school and carrying on voluntary activities without adult supervision. There is reason to believe that in this situation it will be necessary for the observer to be unnoticed by the children.
 - (1) apparent basis for group membership
 - (2) activities in which the group engages
 - (3) differences in the attitude of these youngsters toward each other when adults are not noticing them
 - (4) secretive or so-called undesirable behavior exhibited
- f. Notes from these observations should be discussed in the class meetings to determine and explain agreements and disagreements in the observers' judgments and records. Some record may be made of points made at this stage. Toward the end of the course these notes may be reviewed to note changes in insight.

BOOK REVIEWS

Book reviews may be made on such volumes as W. W. Bauer, Blanche C. Weil, Arnold Gesell, Jenkins and others, the ASCD Yearbook for 1950.

An individual or small committee could review and report any recent, that is, quite recent, discussions of the gangs of later childhood. Be sure the discussions are recent and deal with the preadolescent and not gangs of adolescence or young adulthood.

Reports may be made of any magazine articles in the professional journals of the characteristics and behavior of children of this age. Again be sure that the article deals with this age, not with that just below or just above.

A number of excellent pamphlets dealing with these children is available from,

The Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16

The Child Study Association of America, Washington, D. C.

The Association for Family Living, 28 East Jackson St., Chicago 4, Ill.

The National Council on Family Relations

The New York Committee on Mental Hygiene

A number of magazines which carry articles concerning children include the following:

Parents' Magazine

Childhood Education

The Child

The National Parent Teacher Magazine

Child Study

Hygeia

The Elementary School Journal

The Clearing House

A number of panel discussions might be held on the observations and the readings, particularly if there are disagreements or points needing clarification.

One of the greatest blunders in handling children of this age is failure to recognize their individuality, their growing independence, and the power of the standards of the peer culture upon them. Adults constantly use force, pressure, and coercion. A number of alternative methods of managing these children is hinted at ever so briefly on pages 4-5. Other points will appear during the volume. At this point it might be very valuable for a committee to summarize with specific illustrations the alternative methods of handling children, explaining things to them, getting agreement on decisions, preventing clashes between these children and the adults. The type of thing indicated here is coming to the fore quite widely in the popular and professional literature. There are many, many methods for handling these children, methods that do not beget the clashes and antagonisms which now exist.

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The references by Duvall and by Redl contain valuable bibliographies of pamphlets, also the volume by Shacter and Bauer.

2

The Changing Social Insights of the Preadolescent

This chapter will bring together the studies which provide a better understanding of the social status of these older children. *Section A* will present material which seems to differentiate later childhood socially from the immediately younger and older levels. There is enough evidence to propose three closely related trends in social development that distinguish children during the years just preceding puberty. These may be described as (1) rejection of standards set by adults and largely accepted by children up to this time, (2) sex differentiation in the form of apparent antagonism between sexes, and (3) the formation of age-sex groups.

Section B will be devoted to a description of the personal maladjustments which appear to be related to the efforts of these children to gain this new social status. (1) Maladjustive behavior at this level of development may be related to the psychological conflicts accompanying the changing social relationships. (2) Parental rejection may appear or reach greater proportions during these years affecting adversely the behavior of these children. (3) The prevalence of behavior problems and the beginning of delinquency are an indication of the difficulties children encounter during these years. (4) Some behavior disorders are associated with the failure of children to be accepted by the childhood gang.

Section C will point out the opportunities these changing

characteristics provide for desirable social development. These years seem to be an opportune time for individuals to (1) gain in independence, (2) grow in moral judgment, (3) complete sexual identification, and (4) lessen the strains of adolescence.

SECTION A

THE PERIOD IS MARKED BY CHARACTERISTIC SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

1. *The standards of adults are rejected.* Many investigators have interpreted much of the typical behavior of children from nine to eleven as resulting from the child's changing attitude toward parental and adult standards. The attitude of antagonism has probably been most often associated with puberty and adolescence rather than with childhood. Physiological maturation was thought to be partially responsible. Investigators more recently, however, have shown that many of the characteristics of adolescents are not directly related to their physiological maturation, but may begin in the preadolescent years. Dennis,¹ in summarizing the studies relating behavior to physiological maturation during adolescence, states that it has not been shown that the "negative phase" of adolescence is intimately related to sexual maturation. Stone and Barker's² study of the attitudes and interests of pre-menarcheal and post-menarcheal girls showed that these two groups equated as nearly as possible for age, social status, and intelligence did not differ in the extent to which they report the presence of rejection of adult standards. The following paragraphs will bring out the fact that friction with adult standards seems to account for much of the typically observed behavior during later childhood.

¹ Wayne Dennis, "The Adolescent," *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Carmichael (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1946).

² C. P. Stone and R. G. Barker, "The Attitudes and Interests of Pre-menarcheal and Post-menarcheal Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1939, pp. 393-414.

Observed behavior indicates clash between children and adults. The rejection of adult standards can be interpreted from the study of behavior problems of school children. Logically it might be assumed that as children grow older and spend more years in school and under parental influence, they would become "better" children as far as conforming to socially acceptable codes. Studies of behavior confirm the common observation that this is not the case. An early objective study, 1927, by Blatz and Bott³ of the behavior of public school children discovered a peak of "unruliness" at about nine years of age. These findings were based on the study of 1,437 pupils in kindergarten through grade eight. The instances of disobedience, uncleanliness, disorder, and deceit which were high for the nine- and ten-year-old had practically disappeared by the ages thirteen and fourteen. Jones⁴ in one of the National Yearbooks has summarized a number of teacher analyses of behavior difficulties, showing that far more behavior problems are reported by teachers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades than for any other level. Although aggressive behavior was of more concern than withdrawal behavior to teachers at all levels, it seemed to reach its peak here. The common descriptions were teasing, discourtesy, scuffling, rebelliousness, inattentiveness, carelessness, untidiness, lack of punctuality, and disobedience.

Parents also recognize a trend during these years for children to disregard previously accepted standards. Long⁵ in a study of parents' reports of the behavior tendencies present in children from three to eighteen concludes that there are characteristics of children's behavior at this age which dis-

³ W. E. Blatz and Helen M. Bott, "Studies in Mental Hygiene of Children," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1927, pp. 552-582.

⁴ H. E. Jones, H. S. Conrad, and L. B. Murphy, *Child Development and the Curriculum*, Thirty-Eighth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education (Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1939).

⁵ Alma Long, "Parents' Reports of Undesirable Behavior," *Child Development*, 1941, pp. 43-62.

regard earlier accepted standards. She states that children from eight through eleven tend to exhibit a lessening proportion of the behavior tendencies most frequent among younger children and to add an array of responses indicative of their inadequate techniques for entry into a rapidly expanding experience. They tend to be frequently irritable toward adults, wilful, easily discouraged, and to have many fears. Within the population represented by this particular group very few differences of behavior tendencies could be associated with factors other than differences in age; they are not related to other behavior tendencies, or to the education of parents, or to the socio-economic pattern.

Piaget,⁶ in describing the moral judgment of the child, recognizes, on the basis of extensive interview material, a change in the child's relationship to authority at around nine or ten years of age. He proposes that all moral judgment is based upon two sources of authority, that of (1) the authority of superiors of all sorts and (2) the authority of equals, the latter beginning to be recognized at about eight or nine years. The cases of Piaget showed a phase of rejection of adult standards at about that age; "earlier he may rebel against something which interferes with his pleasure but he does not see the alternatives nor doubt the authority in the earlier years."

Clinical analyses supply further evidence of conflict. In addition to the foregoing reports of the tendency on the part of older children to disregard adult standards of social behavior, there is evidence from clinical analysis of their problems that this is the case with the younger children. Isaacs⁷ was among the first to recognize this non-conforming type of behavior and account for it as rejection of adult standards and parental authority. From her experi-

⁶ Jean Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 1932).

⁷ Susan Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 1933).

ence in the psychoanalysis of children and from observation of children in her school, she concludes that this "hostility toward adults" reaches its height during the tenth and eleventh years. After listing all the objectionable qualities of later childhood, Zachry⁸ proceeds to trace them all to the conflict between adults and these children. Redl⁹ not only recognizes the same social traits and underlying attitude but in addition recognizes some physical aspects of the emotional strain the change of standards imposes: restlessness, facial tics, nail-biting, skin-chewing, scratching, and the return of outgrown speech disorders. These neurotic symptoms he attributes to the return of old, forgotten, or repressed impulses as a result of the relaxation of the established pattern of personality. The earlier pattern was characterized by the seeking of adult approval. He notes the following characteristics of preadolescent children from his own case studies as well as from the reports of parents, teachers, counselors, and psychiatrists: distrust, irritability, and suspicion of parents in stretches; easily offended by parents; admiration of other adults is often thrown at parents; rebellion like that of a two-year-old at routine habits of punctuality like going to bed, meals, working, and playing; lack of submission to parental accepted manners, cleanliness, and language. These attributes he claims also cause the parent to reject to some extent the child at this age. In relating the difficulties in psychiatric work¹⁰ he describes the child from nine or ten until puberty as being especially difficult in interviews and in all adult relations, because he rejects the adult as a representative of societal pressures. "Talking things over" is "sissy stuff" and entails a great loss in terms

⁸ Caroline B. Zachry, and M. Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940).

⁹ Fritz Redl, "Preadolescents, What Makes Them Tick?" *Child Study*, (Winter, 1944), pp. 44-48. See bibliography for Chapter 1.

¹⁰ Fritz Redl, "Diagnostic Group Work," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1944, pp. 53-67.

of peer status. He says that it is only through group work that he actually discovers the motivation and problems of this age group—it is the only setting in which they reveal themselves.

A practicing children's psychiatrist, Beverly¹¹ has given a similar impression about the relationship of this age child with adults.

Between eight and nine years children set up their own standards. While their codes of fair play may seem crude to adults, they find them adequate. Their attitude toward adults was well expressed by a smart ten-year-old when he said, "You can get along with us all right if you do two things—keep your mouth shut and tend to your own business." In other words normal children think if they do not say, "We want to take care of ourselves, and govern ourselves. You adults don't know what it's all about." By this they mean, "You do not see the world as we see it, and therefore can not tell us what to do or how to do it." This attitude indicates a desire for independence and is a sign of normal emotional growth.

Dr. Beverly investigated further the failure of parents to understand the nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-old child. A questionnaire was submitted to a group of intelligent parents. It read, "What characteristics would you like to find in a normal nine-year-old boy?" Along with this question were listed forty characteristics which the parents were asked to list in order of their importance. In general the arrangements by the parents and by most school teachers were alike. At the top of the answers appeared honesty, obedience, truthfulness, and consideration for others. At the end were masturbation, lying, selfishness, and fighting. The same question, list, and request were sent to a group of mental hygienists. Their replies indicated agreement among themselves also, and their arrangement was strikingly similar to that of the parents, with one exception; it was completely reversed. The psychiatrist would also have *liked* to find the socially approved characteristics but he *expected* to find

¹¹ Bert I. Beverly, *In Defense of Children* (New York, The John Day Co., 1941).

masturbation, lying, selfishness, and disobedience in the nine-year-old boy because, he says,¹² these are normal characteristics for a boy of that age.

A psychiatrist is worried when he finds a nine-year-old boy who is honest, obedient, truthful, and considerate of others, because these are abnormal qualities for a boy of that age. If it were possible to inculcate these desirable qualities upon the minds of children, the psychiatrist, as well as the parent, would be pleased; but since it is impossible to do so, the psychiatrist accepts the situation as it is.

Probably 90 per cent of all his cases between nine and twelve years of age, he concludes, were authority conflicts in which the attitude of the parent was as much in need of treatment as that of the child. In working with these older children he has found that they are more distressed by their own thoughts and feelings as a result of this parental conflict than by anything external.

Problems within families related to adult-child differences. In the immediately preceding paragraphs data have been presented to show that teachers' and parents' observations of children's behavior and the clinical analyses of children's problems point to the tendency for these older children to reject adult codes of conduct. A few studies of family structure and problems also show some relation to this trend in behavior. In a study directed by Buhler¹³ twelve trained observers took part for a period of six months in the family life of seventeen families involving thirty children of school age, six through twelve. Although the authors claim only methodological significance for their study, their findings seem highly meaningful as far as they go. They found that the definitely positive attitudes of these children clearly constituted a reflection of the positive relations between them and their parents, and the primarily negative attitudes in other children could be clearly traced to the negative re-

¹² Beverly, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹³ Charlotte Buhler, *The Child and His Family* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1939).

lationships with their parents. There was indication that negative relationships increased with age in the six to twelve group. Talking back and disagreement with parents increased with age; ignoring as a means of disobedience decreased with age; avoidance as a means of disobedience increased with age but was more typical of girls than of boys.

Lowrey¹⁴ believes this breaking away from home standards to be related to sexual development, particularly in boys. The boy's definite break away from the mother during the later elementary school years, he claims, is in a sense an attempt to break away from the feminine sex as a whole. He says that it is in this period that mothers do so many things that create difficulties for boys, such as insisting that they wash behind their ears, that they wear rubbers when it rains, and an overcoat instead of a sweater, and so forth. "All these things have some bearing on the general sex-education for youngsters of this age, because these rebellions and resistances and difficulties are a part of the child's growing awareness of himself." Elkin¹⁵ makes a similar observation about family life and the resistance preadolescent boys make toward the almost totally feminine dominance in the rearing of children in this country. He states that in trying to live up to the social expectation that they behave differently from girls "they are impelled to adopt an image of manhood which, like all compensations for inadequacy, exaggerates and distorts the aggressive quality that is a natural sign of virility." In trying to conceal any "sissy" qualities boys at this age overthrow anything associated with femininity.

Children resist socialization; rejecting adults, sometimes rejected by adults. An intensive longitudinal study by San-

¹⁴ Lawson G. Lowrey, "Sex Development During the School Age," *Child Study* (Fall, 1944), pp. 6-8.

¹⁵ Henry Elkin, "Aggressive and Erotic Tendencies in Army Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, pp. 408-413.

ford and others¹⁶ brings to light some evidence of the deep-seated nature of this resistance to socialization on the part of older children. Grouping the children studied for comparison the experimenters recognized a lower age group—five to nine; a middle group—nine to thirteen; and an older group—thirteen to sixteen. For the purpose of the present volume the “middle group” corresponds closely to the developmental level under consideration. Of particular interest in the present discussion are the results of the projective techniques in so far as they reveal the inner life or fantasies of this group of children. The study revealed a steady *decrease in the overt* manifestations of “aggression,” “acquisition,” and “blamescape” (escape blame by flight or concealment) during the total age-range studies. All of this is desirable from the standpoint of socialization. At the same time these same tendencies *increase* with age *in the children’s fantasies*, particularly in our *middle group*. Thus it would appear that the process of socialization may effectively prevent anti-social impulses from expressing themselves in behavior though it does not stamp them out. In fact their increase in fantasy was more marked than their decrease in overt behavior. This gives some notion of the “release” gained from the “gang” life of these children to be described later.

Some of the recognized authorities in child development in describing either the lower or immediately older age groups have commented upon this apparently negative phase to be found in the years preceding puberty. Although they do not supply supporting data, their remarks are interesting in that they are in substantial agreement with the foregoing evidence. Lois B. Murphy¹⁷ hints at the problem here rec-

¹⁶ R. Nevitt Sanford and others, “Physique, Personality, and Scholarship,” Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, VIII, No. 1, (Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1943).

¹⁷ Lois B. Murphy, “Childhood Experience in Relation to Personality Development,” *Personality and the Behavior Disorders, II*, edited by J. McV. Hunt (New York, The Ronald Press, 1944).

ognized when she states in describing the growth of children just before puberty,

The increased structuring of activity and directions by adults doubtless creates new tensions, which may be related to the new pattern of withdrawal: having secrets, secret clubs, and secret activities. Comics include stories concerned with child-adult authority of which the Katzenjammers is still perennial and not the only one of its kind. Authority conflicts are also sublimated in drawings, writing skits, or just in extra curricular crabbing, depending upon the resources of the child. (p. 680.)

Gruenberg¹⁸ not only recognizes this authority conflict but proposes an explanation of it.

In this period authority takes on new meanings. We may have prided ourselves during these earlier years that we had successfully trained the child to obedience and regularity. He knew what was expected of him; he did not do the forbidden. He has been reasonably prompt in going to bed when reminded. He puts away his things, he washes, he is regular. And we had naturally assumed that this early training would last a lifetime. But then almost without warning this beautiful state vanishes.

The explanation is that the child has gradually arrived at an age in which he cares only for the approval of his own age-mates. Our parental discipline, depending for its effectiveness upon our approvals and disapprovals, languishes. In the world which the child now inhabits the washing of hands, the appearance of which we approve, is not a matter of interest. Coats and hats are incidental. Bedtime is a necessary evil, to be put off as long as possible. It is natural for us to remind the child; but it is not natural for the child to comply in the face of all other pressures and demands. If the early discipline was too rigid, the danger now is violent reaction against all authority. (p. 5)

Peter Blos¹⁹ makes several interesting observations about the preadolescent, a phase of development which he states usually begins at about ten years of age. In regard to the parental conflict he writes:

During the preadolescent phase the child seems to be losing ground, much to the discomfort of the adults in his environment. Often he ceases with dismayed suddenness, to be a reasonable, responsible, and

¹⁸ Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Half-Way Up the Stairs," *Child Study*, 1934, pp. 3-6.

¹⁹ Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941).

compliant child. He now becomes more restless and unstable, less responsive, less obedient, often openly hostile to the adults he loves best. His carefully trained habits of orderliness and cleanliness are lost. He is careless in his personal appearance, his language, his work even, if he is a boy, deliberately dirty and greedy. Girls tend to be more careful and often skip the sloppy stage entirely. (p. 271)

The preceding paragraphs have brought together evidence and the comments of recognized authorities to show that the rejection of adult standards is a typical social attitude during later childhood, and that it probably accounts for much of the "undesirable" behavior exhibited during these years. There is also some indication that this rejection on the part of children is responded to with at least some rejection on the part of adults concerned with these children. Chapter 3, using certain sociological data, will show the significance of this rejection of socially accepted codes of behavior in relation to certain cultural factors and social class structure.

The effect of conflict upon emotional stability and mental health. The unpredictable behavior and the emotional disturbances so characteristic of this period are doubtless due in part to the increasing rift between heretofore beloved adults and the children. Dependence upon adults for decisions and guidance is replaced by the beginnings of independence but without sufficient experience to guarantee confidence in one's own decisions. Uncertainty, insecurity, with accompanying unhappiness result, in turn causing behavior annoying to adults.

Further evidence on the relation between development and emotional instability will be found in the following sections of the chapter. The three factors, rejection of adults, sex differentiation, the formation of age-sex groups are so interrelated in social development, that we present them together before taking up maladjustments, or the opportunities for desirable growth.

2. Sex differentiation. The preceding division dealt with the changing attitude of older children toward parental au-

thority and social conformity to adult standards. It is natural to conclude, on the basis of our knowledge of human nature, that these children will turn to another source for approval and authority, namely, the standards of their peers. Before considering the new source of standards it is important that another aspect of their social development be considered. This aspect is the changing status of the relation between the sexes during this period of growth. The apparent antagonism between boys and girls at this age is one of the most commonly observed characteristics of childhood. Parents and teachers have long recognized an inordinate amount of teasing between the sexes in the upper elementary grades as well as the almost complete exclusion of the opposite sex from the other's play groups. A few studies provide some basis for understanding this friction between boys and girls.

Some psychologists see a relationship between this sex-opposite antagonism and the rejection of adult standards. Lowrey²⁰ recognizes the sharp differentiation that develops during the elementary school years between boys and girls as a part of their sexual development. He states that the boy's beginning of a breaking away from the mother is in a sense an attempt to break away from the feminine sex as a whole. Writing of the years just preceding adolescence, Tryon²¹ is of the opinion that probably at this time both sexes are misplacing on each other some resentment that rightly should fall on adults since we have chosen to classify in our classrooms boys and girls of very different developmental ages.

Although this teasing and antagonism usually appears about equally reciprocal, there is some indication that it is more pronounced in boys. On the basis of her observation Zachry²² notes that girls of this age spend most of their time

²⁰ Lowrey, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Caroline M. Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," *Adolescence*, Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944).

²² Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

with girls of their own age. Often, however, they seem to be doing so less of choice than of necessity. If they assert that boys are horrid or nasty, their scorn does not always ring quite true. It is less convincing than the aloofness or teasing with which the young boy meets them; more often than not it is a mode of self defense or retaliation.

All the objectionable social qualities of this age appear to be more pronounced in boys. The Blatz and Bott²³ study revealed a considerably higher frequency of school misbehavior among boys at this age. Levy and Monroe²⁴ point out that the figures for attendance at public child guidance centers show that the boys express their antagonisms at this age much more often than girls. Girls are referred to guidance centers most frequently between sixteen and seventeen; boys, at ten. At ten years boys are sent to clinics for help three times as frequently as girls. They state that misbehavior problems in public school for this age show approximately the same ratio; private psychiatrists report an even higher percentage of boys referred before adolescence.

Boys and girls set up differing values and standards. Tryon²⁵ gives evidence that girls in the age group we are considering are more inclined to accept socially approved standards. She made an analysis of children's opinions of each other (a part of the Adolescent Growth Study at the University of California) which had been collected by means of a "Guess Who" or reputation test, in a search for those characteristics which boys and girls admire. These opinions were available for about 160 boys and about the same number of girls at the close of the elementary school years when over 90 per cent were eleven and twelve years of age. Similar data were analyzed for this same group of children three

²³ Blatz and Bott, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ John Levy and Ruth Monroe, *The Happy Family* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938).

²⁵ Caroline M. Tryon, *Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents*, Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, No. 4 (Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1939).

years later, when they were completing the ninth grade. According to the observational and physical data, the majority of the children at the first testing were in the later childhood period as described in the present volume. The most admired qualities in the boys at the eleven- and twelve-year level were competence in group games and ability to lead or keep a game going, together with fearlessness and readiness to take a chance. It was much more desirable for a boy to be aggressive, boisterous, and a degree unkempt in preference to being submissive, extremely reserved, and too clean. A very different pattern of values appeared for girls at this early age level. This is what one would expect if one were supporting the hypothesis that group behavior is closely associated with a group value system, since this was the period in which boy and girl groups are most sharply withdrawn and insulated from each other. In girls aggressive behavior was strongly disapproved and so were restlessness and other behaviors which cause disturbance in the classroom. Most important in determining prestige for girls were such qualities as being friendly, pretty, tidy, and quietly gracious. Certainly the girls' value system at this level, in so far as it was revealed through the medium of children's opinions about each other, conforms much more closely to what most teachers and other adults are trying to establish in both boys and girls.

There is some indication, however, in a study by Stone and Barker ²⁶ that this acceptance of social standards is related to the earlier maturity status of girls during these years of growth. In their study of the attitudes and interests of pre-menarcheal and post-menarcheal girls equated for age and other factors it was shown that heterosexual interests were more characteristic of the post-menarcheal girls. Pre-menarcheal girls were not as interested in personal appearance and personal adornment. The pre-menarcheal girls exhibited greater interest too in vigorous and strenuous

²⁶ Stone and Barker, *loc. cit.*

activity when compared with post-menarcheal girls. A study reported by Bonney²⁷ also shows that girls begin at an earlier date to value socially acceptable conduct. Using ratings by pupils and personality tests he found that for these pupils the most reliable differences between boys and girls in several fourth grades was that the popular boy "fights" and is "restless" while the popular girl was "tidy," "good looking," and acted "grown up." Self-ratings on the California Test of Personality by these nine- and ten-year-olds indicated that the girls were more socially acceptable than the boys.

Recreational activities sharply differentiated by sex. The studies of recreational and play interests probably show more clearly than any other the sharp differentiation between boys and girls during these years. Lehman and Witty²⁸ indicate that sex differences in play interests are at a maximum from eight years five months to ten years five months. Campbell's report²⁹ of a study covering a period of ten years is interesting because several groups of children were observed during the years of the changing relationship between the sexes. The purpose of the study was to follow the development of nursery school children. Recreation clubs were established in which the nursery children were invited back to participate in a free play situation. The age groups were maintained so that the relations within each particular group were observed over a period of ten years. From five to seven they ignored sex in choosing play groups and companions. The picture began to change at eight and by years ten and eleven they completely segregated themselves from each other. This stage of segregation began with haughty aloofness, became apparent contempt, and then

²⁷ Merle E. Bonney, "Sex Differences in Social Success and Personality Traits," *Child Development*, 1944, pp. 63-79.

²⁸ H. C. Lehman and Paul Witty, *The Psychology of Play Activities* (New York, A. S. Barnes, 1927).

²⁹ Elise H. Campbell, "The Social Sex Development of Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, No. 21, 1939, pp. 461-552.

active hostility, and finally changed to a shy withdrawal which seemed to mark the end of this period and the beginning of adolescence. Her report also showed habits of cleanliness and appearance deteriorated until the shy withdrawal period and adolescence.

Furfey³⁰ in his continuing study of the recreational life of boys has defined a period of social development that corresponds highly to the one proposed in this volume. He has noted from his case studies of developmental age that one of the reliable factors in social maturity for boys of from nine to twelve is the segregation of the sexes in play activities.

Children prefer own sex groups in school work. Not only do the sexes prefer to play separately during these years, but they would prefer to do their school work separately. The basic work in the sociometric technique of Moreno³¹ and his students has been done in the schools. It is perhaps the most convincing proof of the difference in the attitude of boys towards girls and vice versa at this age compared to children in the levels just above and below. This technique provides a means for children to choose freely the companions with whom they would like to be and to work. At levels above and below the age we are considering companions of the opposite sex are often chosen, but in the years just preceding puberty the choices are overwhelmingly for members of the same sex. Starting in the fourth grade, about age nine and lasting well into the eighth grade, age thirteen, boys choose boys and girls choose girls, almost to the complete exclusion of the opposite sex.

Probable causes for the differentiation. The foregoing studies and reports agree that there is considerable antagonism between the sexes during this period. There also appears to be at least three distinguishable causes for this behavior: (1) As already hinted, it is probably partially based on the

³⁰ Paul H. Furfey, *The Growing Boy: Case Studies of Developmental Age* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930).

³¹ J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D. C., Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

differences in physical and intellectual development of boys and girls, making it possible for girls to succeed easier in some of the activities upon which adult society places its approval. (2) There is indication that it is partially due to the effort of individuals to identify themselves more closely with their own sex. (3) Perhaps it is a result of instilling into children the differences between boys' and girls' rôles almost from birth.

The first factor that seems to provide a basis for understanding the sharp differentiation which children at this level draw between the sexes is the more rapid development of girls. This rapid maturation of girls is one of the most commonly accepted and agreed upon characteristics of growth. This difference in growth begins early and continues well into adolescence. The difference in rates, however, is more pronounced in the years just preceding puberty because of the girls' earlier sexual maturation. It has already been pointed out how this earlier maturation of girls apparently makes social conformity more acceptable to them. This probably affects greatly the school work upon which boys and girls are most frequently compared by adults. In addition there is evidence that girls as a group develop at an earlier age than boys those skills which the school prizes so highly. Wellman,³² in summarizing the studies of sex differences, points out that in the early years girls are clearly ahead in language development—in age at which they begin to talk, in the size of their vocabulary, and in their use of sentence structure. McCarthy,³³ in summarizing studies of language development, substantiates this early appearing ability on the part of the girl to use language effectively. Girls have larger vocabularies than boys at all ages through fifteen; they are

³² Beth L. Wellman, "Sex Differences," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1933).

³³ Dorothea McCarthy, "Language Development," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1933).

more "imitative," and pick up words more accurately. Miles,³⁴ in summarizing the sexual differences and their effect on adjustment socially, states,

Boys seem to be more curious, more interested in origins, more successful in puzzle problems, more active, independent, and self-assertive. Girls are more successful in assigned tasks, are further developed in speech, in memory ability, and probably also in motor coördination and in bodily nervous habits.

Further data supporting the differences in physical and intellectual development between the sexes during the particular years with which we are here concerned could be multiplied, but the purpose at present is only to indicate that these differences are great enough to give some basis for the friction to be found between these boys and girls.

The second apparent cause seems to be related to the efforts of the child to identify himself with his own sexual rôle in society. Zachry³⁵ offers the hypothesis that through close and loyal companionship with others like them boys come increasingly to feel themselves to be not only children, but boys, distinctly different from girl children. Through segregation they develop attitudes and conduct which underscore this differentiation, and through it arises among them a solidarity as members of their own sex. She notes that at this age boys deeply resent having any feminine characteristics attributed to them. Her belief agrees with that of Elkin³⁶ that the pre-adolescent boy in our society has a much more difficult time in making satisfactory identification with his own sex rôle because home and school guidance is largely feminine, and there are fewer opportunities for him to contribute socially to family or group life. Feminine household tasks appear to be almost the only contribution children can make to the family, particularly in our urban surroundings. In order, therefore, to prove themselves boys they must exhibit conduct

³⁴ C. C. Miles, "Sex in Social Psychology," *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1935).

³⁵ Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

³⁶ Elkin, *op. cit.*

different from that of girls. The difficulty apparently is in finding socially acceptable conduct that provides this difference. That this segregation of the sexes has psychological significance in terms of identification with the masculine and feminine rôles in our society is most successfully brought out in certain sociological research and interpretation. These materials are dealt with in Chapter 3. There the difficulties of such identification will be enlarged upon.

A third likely basis for this attitude of resentment between sexes may be found in the social pressures adults place upon children. Almost from infancy in our culture a distinction is made between the dress, expectations, behavior, and interests of boys and girls. They are expected and encouraged to show these differences and are equally disapproved for failure to make a very early identification with the proper sex. A large part of these differences therefore may be artificially assumed. As has been shown, certain aspects of development in the period just before puberty make it increasingly difficult for boys and girls to compete or coöperate on an equal footing. Antagonisms and conflict naturally result. It is probably on the basis of these social pressures that what appears to be "unsocial" behavior, particularly on the part of boys, is often accepted by adults. These years are commonly spoken of and excused by the remark, "This is the time when boys will be boys." The extent of sex antagonism is summarized in a study of sex differences by Smith³⁷ when he, considering the period just before puberty, states, "So strong are the biases created by sex identification that each sex tends to think itself more virtuous than the other."

This division has attempted to substantiate the ordinary observation that boys and girls in later childhood make a sharp differentiation between themselves by refusing to play together, preferring to work separately, and by teasing or open hostility to show their antagonism toward each other.

³⁷ Stevenson Smith, "Age and Sex Differences in Children's Opinions Concerning Sex Differences," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1939, pp. 19-27.

This characteristic appears more pronounced among boys than girls. We may recapitulate the reasons for this conduct: (1) the difference in physical maturity and intellectual development; (2) the efforts to make satisfactory sexual identification; and (3) the life-long insistence by adults upon conformity to the sex rôle. The significance of this period of sexual development will be treated in Sections B and C of the present chapter.

3. *The formation of age-sex groups.* Rejecting adult standards and disdaining the opposite sex, the children in this cycle of development turn to a form of social organization that is unique. It will be recalled that G. Stanley Hall in his writings on adolescence pointed out that the group life of that period began much earlier than adolescence, but he did not attribute great meaning to this early social life. Our first accurate descriptions and recognition of this earlier form of social organization came, oddly enough, from the studies of recreational programs and of juvenile delinquency; was eventually brought out in sociometric studies; later it was more accurately described in clinical studies; and finally, it is beginning to receive some recognition by educational workers.

Age-sex groups recognized in recreational activities. Furfey's ³⁸ early work with the recreational needs of boys brought out the fact that the gang life of the ten-year-old boy was a factor serious enough to be reckoned with. Thrasher ³⁹ traced his studies of delinquency to the gang life of young boys in an urban environment. Since that time the evidence has accumulated showing that it is from this group of children separated as to sex but alike in age that the child receives his strongest motivation. The very nature of these gangs makes them difficult to study, but the observations that have been

³⁸ Paul H. Furfey, *The Gang Age* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926).

³⁹ F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, rev ed., 1937).

made and recorded show distinct agreement and hence on this basis have some validity.

A group picture of this group life is given by Zachry.⁴⁰ Her description indicates that these gangs are small, secretive, unstable in membership, composed of age-sex mates, have no stated purpose, rarely have a name, and resist any direct supervision. Redl⁴¹ in describing how these children drop their identification with adult society and establish strong identification with a group of their peers, supports the description of Zachry. He emphasizes the secret aspects of this gang life and the unspoken behavior code developed. He further states that these gangs are "subversive" in terms of adult standards, saying,

At no other age do they show such a need for clique and gang formation. Adults are suspicious because they naturally choose those companions who are rejected rather than approved by their parents.

Charlotte Buhler⁴² reports some European studies of the social life of children during the ages here considered. Reininger's study of Austrian children in the first (six to seven years of age) and fifth (ten to eleven years of age) grades was an attempt to determine the social tendencies arising in the elementary school. The study involved thirty groups of children in each of these two grades. In the first grades the typical relationships were between pairs; in the fifth grades, small groups of five or six. The first grade seldom had student leadership of the whole group; the fifth grade often had such leadership. The small group leaders in the fifth grade somehow represented the ideals of the group; most often this leadership was based on skill in games, seldom on scholarship or intelligence. Group memberships were based on the same

⁴⁰ Caroline B. Zachry, "Understanding the Child During the Latency Period," *Educational Method*, 1938, pp. 162-165.

⁴¹ Fritz Redl, "Preadolescents: What Makes Them Tick?" *Child Study* (Winter, 1944), pp. 44-48.

⁴² Charlotte Buhler, "Social Behavior of Children," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1933).

age and sex. Hetzer made a study of the old traditional games played in the streets of Germany. She found there were two types of group games, one in which rules prescribe everything to be done, and another kind where the rules are only schematic or general (such as "hide-and-seek," or "robber and princess"). Games with rules prevail among children four to ten. From age ten, games with free organization are more popular. It seems that a group of children under ten years of age needs a definite plan to keep it together, whereas the older group keeps together even when order is left free and only a general scheme is prescribed.

Moreno ⁴³ recognized, by use of the sociometric technique mentioned in the previous section, the existence of small (usually five or six in number) groups of the same age during the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. These groups did not include members of the opposite sex as did the typical pairs found in lower grades and the heterosexual groups found in higher grades.

Differences between age-sex groups of boys and girls. Goodenough ⁴⁴ has pointed out that there are some differences in the groups of boys and girls at this level. The groups into which girls organize themselves are often referred to as cliques. She states that elementary school girls' cliques are less well organized and have less well defined purposes and less outstanding leaders than boys' gangs. She agrees with the opinion of Zachry that the girls' groups may be largely defensive in response to the attitude of boys the same age. Brown's ⁴⁵ observations and studies have led him to conclude that girls organize as frequently as boys, but on a less conspicuous basis, with the result that boys' gangs are more frequently studied.

Differences in grouping by age-levels. Other studies could

⁴³ J. L. Moreno, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Florence L. Goodenough, *Developmental Psychology* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1934).

⁴⁵ F. J. Brown, *The Sociology of Childhood* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

be cited which merely recognize the presence of this gang life in later childhood. It is more difficult to find research that has clearly differentiated this gang life from the social life of the primary level child or the adolescent. Finley,⁴⁶ a psychiatrist serving a midwestern city school system, believes the latency period (which corresponds to the elementary school age) should be divided into two rather distinct phases if these children are to have the opportunity for most effective growth: the first, a phase of "individualism" and the second, the preadolescent phase of "coördinated group activity." He believes, on the basis of his observations, that the first phase of "individualism" extends usually from the kindergarten through third grade. The outstanding characteristic at this level is the effort of the child to gain confidence in himself as an individual. Interpersonal relationships at this stage are very immature, the outstanding positive relationship during the primary grades being between the teacher and the individual child. These children imitate the teacher and want her approval; their play groups serve their own individual ends. In comparison, the preadolescent or intermediate-grade child shows a genuine interest in group activity, deep loyalty to a group that is small, seldom if ever class-wide. These groups are dependent on their own leadership. The approval of the teacher is unimportant in comparison with that of the gang.

Furfey⁴⁷ in his latest case studies of "developmental age" helps us to distinguish the unique aspects of the later childhood gang. He divides the age range six to sixteen into three periods. They are the "individualistic period," the "gang age," and adolescence. The latter two periods are sharply separated by the phenomenon of puberty. The former two are separated by a less well defined transition period. It was his work that first set the "gang age" at eight or ten years.

⁴⁶ Malcolm Finley, "Developmental Aspects of the Latent Period Significant for Education," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1943, pp. 271-275.

⁴⁷ Paul H. Furfey, *The Growing Boy: Case Studies of Developmental Age* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930).

According to him boys of eight are not found in clubs unless they are definitely accelerated in developmental age, whereas a high proportion of the twelve-year-olds belong to some kind of club. Team games are impossible at eight and not perfected until at least twelve. He recognized a difference in the reaction to gang life of younger (nine and ten) boys and older (twelve to fifteen) ones. The younger ones resist adult supervision. Team spirit means very little until twelve or after. He also noticed that the younger groups were less stable in membership. Gangs after puberty do not occupy the place of importance in the boy's life as do earlier gangs.

Chave⁴⁸ in discussing recreational and play opportunities in community programs indicates that artificially organized programs or play groups below age twelve have not been successful when compared with such groups and programs above age twelve. Below age twelve difficulty is encountered in getting a younger group to remain homogeneous for any length of time, or to respond to adult supervision. When adults attempt to direct them the groups disintegrate. He concludes that free play groups that spring up among children of the same age to carry on a specific activity seem to meet the ordinary needs of children below twelve.

In attempting to get at the change in the social life of children, Brown⁴⁹ notes that after eight years of age there develops an interest in the organization itself rather than in the activity. Clubs with passwords, initiations, and an attitude of exclusiveness of "you can't belong" become frequent. "The Dirty Dozen," "Three Musketeers," "Jones Street Gang" are some typical names. These clubs sometimes take on bizarre forms.

Rosenthal⁵⁰ reports some general conclusions about group formation among preadolescent boys. She analyzes 53 groups

⁴⁸ Earnest J. Chave, *Personality Development in Children* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937).

⁴⁹ Brown, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ Pauline Rosenthal, "Group Studies of Preadolescent Delinquent Boys," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1942, pp. 115-126.

of delinquent and non-delinquent boys. Both delinquent and non-delinquent groups had certain common characteristics. The groups consisted of not less than four or more than eight boys. The groups were composed of boys very near the same age. The seven- and eight-year-olds tended to look back on family patterns in their group life, attaching themselves to a parental figure, a child like themselves, or an older boy. Older boys from ten to twelve were motivated by a drive for status. They formed ties with one another on the basis of a common attitude toward authority. Among them leadership as such did not exist in the sense that a leader is chosen.

Sanford and his associates at Harvard⁵¹ differentiate the period here considered rather sharply in their extensive three-year study of personality variables in a group of forty-eight children ranging in years from five to fourteen. The unique relations of children from nine through twelve with one another and with adults they considered one of their basic findings.

What can be stated with some definiteness, on the basis of our results, is that the gravitation toward other children which appears to be especially pronounced in the middle child (in this study an age group 9 to 13)—his tendency to be with other children, to be like them, and to do what they do—is not an expression of his greater capacity for genuine social feeling. We have evidence from our fantasy tests and from several tests of attitude that affective tendencies, tendencies expressive of human warmth, actually reach their lowest point during the middle period. The conclusion is that the gregariousness—the sociocentricity—of these children is in the service of needs other than a basic need of “Affiliation.” By joining with other children a subject at this age is better able to carry out his practical aims: for some of his projects he requires the cooperation of the group, and for satisfying some of his positive needs, chiefly the need for “Dominance” and “Recognition,” the response of the group is necessary. Furthermore, it seems that the middle class child derives necessary *support* from the group; he is better able to master his childish fears if he has his “Gang” around him, and problems of guilt and anxiety are solved by “doing what others do.” It seems important to note, too, that though the middle period is properly termed a period of marked “socialization” it is not the time at which we find the greatest capacity for behaving according to internalized

⁵¹ Sanford and others, *loc. cit.*

moral standards. Sanctions for the middle child are provided largely by the social group of which he is a member, and he changes as they change; the development of a social conscience which will determine the course of the child's behavior regardless of the pressure from the group—and this we have seen earlier—does not reach its highest point until later. (p. 647)

The foregoing paragraphs have shown to what extent the age-sex groups formed during later childhood are unique and serve a particular function for these children. The only thing in common which groups during this age seem to have with group formation at other ages is that they give approval and security to the members. At this age groups appear to be formed for that purpose almost exclusively; at other ages groups form for a variety of reasons. These older children apparently set up their own standards and values rather than choose to imitate an older group or to accept adult standards. Up to this time and afterward imitating is a more dependable factor in the individual's learning. Dollard⁵² states there are four classes of persons imitated by others: (1) superiors in age and group, (2) superiors in social status, (3) superiors in intelligence, and (4) superior technicians. He indicates this is progressively true through infancy, childhood, adolescence, college years, and maturity. This category fails to recognize the peculiar characteristics of the group life of later childhood. As has been pointed out the group at this level is made up of age-sex mates, children of the same age and sex; and their code of behavior and loyalties seems to be based upon a defiance of all types of superiors. They imitate only their peers. Gruenberg⁵³ has noted this and adds that from the child's point of view the child is removed from other age groups. Children but a little younger are to him only babies. Children who are a little older are almost as far away as grown-ups, not interested in

⁵² N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941).

⁵³ Gruenberg, *loc. cit.*

the serious business of play and adventure, but concerned with dress, or abstract discussions, or love.

Summary on age-sex grouping. This division has pointed out that during the years nine, ten, and eleven, children form their first intense loyalties outside the home. A number of investigations has shown that the group life of these older children provides the basis for their standard of behavior and system of values. These children form small gangs composed of members of the same age and sex. Through this gang life they exhibit their rejection of adult standards and antagonism toward the opposite sex. The secretive aspects of this gang life plus the resistance the members exhibit toward adult supervision results in suspicion of these groups by adults. Chapter 3 will attempt to show how deeply entrenched is the adult resistance to this pattern of social life among older children. On the basis of the present knowledge about these gangs it may be said that they are a result of the dissatisfaction of these children with their social status.

Characteristic behavior of preadolescents recognized by many popular writers. Poets and story writers of many types and in all ages have manifested sympathetic insight into the life of children and youth. We present here one illustration.

It is a debatable point as to how well most parents ever really know their children. How well they ever really know their children's friends is another point and one which, at least speaking for myself, is not even debatable. For my son's acquaintances . . . have always been shrouded in a curious mystery which I long ago gave up attempting to solve. Let me hasten to say that there is nothing wrong with any of them . . . on the contrary, they all seem to be very acceptable and quite often delightful young persons. But also they all seem to hail from a region beyond an Iron Curtain which recognizes no parental passport. To be sure, those who come to the house are always politely introduced to my husband and me, but beyond the mere pronouncement of their names we are vouchsafed no further enlightenment. How or where he has met them we are never told and we have learned that to ask him questions regarding their family or habitat is the equivalent in tactlessness of asking for their Wassermann reports. By this I do not wish to give the impression that my son is a secretive or particularly reticent

type. His is an amiable, outgoing nature and with his parents he is almost always communicative . . . except when it comes to his friends. I am quite certain that he is in no way ashamed of his buddies, and the horrid suspicion that he might be ashamed of his parents, I put rapidly away as unworthy. I guess it just strikes him as too complicated to explain us to each other.

The influx of unidentifiable companions began about the time we had decided to live in the country for a couple of years and our child was ten.

At first when he would make an announcement to the effect that he was bringing someone named Jimmy or Leroy (pronounced Lee-roy) . . . if I committed the natural blunder of asking who was Jimmy or Leeroy (bravely going along with the pronunciation), I soon learned to hope for no further elucidation than a cryptic, "A friend of mine."

Where the Jimmies and Leroy's lived I was seldom informed more specifically than by an impatient, "Oh Mom, if I *told* you, you wouldn't *know*!" ⁵⁴

Summary of Section A. Distinguishing social attitudes and behavior. This section has brought together those studies and interpretations that aid in understanding behavior during later childhood. There is relatively broad agreement that most of the behavior of these children stems from three basic attitudes towards others. The *first* is the change in authority relations expressed largely by a seeming rejection of adult standards. This attitude is expressed by a disregard for home and family routines that were once well established. It is further expressed by an apparent rebellion against the common social courtesies, habits of speech, and lack of regard for the feelings of adults. In school it is expressed by numerous infractions of the rules of group living.

The *second* basic attitude is the apparent antagonism between members of the opposite sex of near the same age. During these years these children refuse to play together.

⁵⁴ Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company from *Nuts in May* by Cornelia Otis Skinner. Copyright 1950 by Cornelia Otis Skinner. Pp. 137, 138, 139, 140.

Their interests in play become sharply differentiated. Interests in other leisure activities such as reading are different. They distinguish sharply between what are girls' tasks and what are boys' tasks. When these children are required to work together or play in the same vicinity, there is a great amount of teasing or often open hostility.

A *third* underlying attitude is the loyalty to a gang composed of other children similar in age, sex, size, and interests. The approval from members of these intimate gangs appears to be the strongest motivating factor during these years. This gang loyalty and membership appears to be more pronounced among boys than among girls. In order to achieve independence from adults, these gangs often adopt standards of behavior that seem undesirable to adults. Gang solidarity seems to be built upon the secretive aspects of their gang activities. This also draws the suspicion of adults. Unlike the group life of adolescence, these childhood gangs resist direct adult supervision, their interests are immediate and often selfish, and they do not align themselves with adult values. In other ways they are not like adolescent groups: these gangs are smaller, composed of five to eight members; their membership is not stable; the leadership within the gang is not often centered in one individual; and they do not often recognize socio-economic or educational levels in choosing their membership.

The foregoing basic attitudes and resulting behavior are probably very commonly recognized by parents and teachers. Because of the immaturity of these children the importance of this changing social status may be overlooked. That these attitudes and this behavior have important developmental possibilities will be pointed out in the next two sections. Section B will bring out the personal maladjustments which may occur at this level as a result of the failure to integrate these attitudes with permanent values. Section C will show what permanent values may accrue if adults recognize the opportunities at this level for sound social development.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR SECTION A

1. Recall or repeat observations made while studying Chapter 1 in order to note now the apparent antagonism between child and adult. List, if possible, specific incidents showing rejection of or incipient revolt against adult standards.
2. Relate, observe or recall incidents showing wise management by teachers and parents or other adults of this clash between children and adults.
3. Summarize from the literature or from experience a number of specific suggestions and general principles which would aid in the handling of these situations.
4. Cite observed or recalled incidents which bear on any of the several points made in our discussion of sex differentiation.
5. What changes might be made in handling children at school in adjusting to the developing differentiation between the sexes?
6. Summarize from any source, preferably the periodical literature, a number of specific suggestions and general principles which would aid adults generally in handling this situation.
7. Cite observed or recalled incidents illustrating the formation of age-sex groups and of the characteristics of these groups.
8. How might parents and schools utilize this natural tendency, age-sex grouping, in the management of children?
9. The term "peer culture" is used very widely today. Summarize in a brief descriptive statement the materials to be found in magazine articles and in various textbooks concerning this. Develop several points.

BOOK REVIEWS

Brief, organized reviews may be made of certain of the books as listed in the bibliography; namely: Beverly, Blatz and Bott, Brown, Buhler, or any other current book of this type.

A review might be made of the several articles by Piaget together with the modern criticisms of these articles.

A report might be made summarizing a number of clinical reports or clinical analyses of the behavior of children of this age.

A report may be made on the literature of problems of family relations with special reference to these children.

An account based on the literature in psychological journals might be made, showing the nature of the inner life or fantasy life of children which develops as a compensation for the loss of their security in adult relationships.

A report may be made by an individual student or a small committee on any item selected from this chapter and utilizing current materials, preferably in the professional periodicals.

Students are encouraged throughout to bring in any new materials, either periodical articles or new texts which bear upon the problems of this and succeeding chapters.

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SECTION B

THE PERIOD IS MARKED BY A NUMBER OF PERSONAL MALADJUSTMENTS

1. A period of serious conflicts. The social characteristics of later childhood as outlined in the previous section of this chapter show that these children are subject to conflicts that demand more serious study and more thorough understanding if parents and teachers are interested in well rounded growth for them. These conflicts can be classified as (1) between gang and parental standards of behavior, (2) between gang and school standards of conducts and achievement, and (3) between boys and girls. Chapters 4 and 5, which deal with the changing developmental status of older children will show a basis for other conflicts, (4) between reality and adult or parental standards, and (5) as a result of increased physical ability and freedom to explore and use such ability. The tensions created by such conflicts probably account for some of the aggressiveness previously described as well as some of the regressions to earlier forms of behavior. Failure to resolve these conflicts may result in delinquent or in neurotic behavior that will affect social adjustment not only in this cycle of development but in succeeding ones.

Redl⁵⁵ attributes the restlessness found so often in children at this age to these inner conflicts. He attributes these conflicts to their changing standards and values and states that his patients have shown many of the neurotic symptoms

⁵⁵ "Preadolescents: What Makes Them Tick?" *loc. cit.*

that accompany the anxiety associated with conflict: facial tics, bed-wetting, nail-biting, skin-chewing, scratching, and speech disorders. In most cases these habits were a regression to earlier outgrown behavior. Bloss⁵⁶ confirms this observation that nervous habits such as nail-biting reappear during these years. These physical reactions to anxiety are indicative of the serious nature of the adjustments these older children are making.

2. *Effect of parental rejection.* The chief factor that constantly reoccurred in the study and description of the changing social characteristics of later childhood was that of resistance to adult standards. It was also shown that there is a tendency for parents and other adults to resist these efforts on the part of children. This resistance by adults may result in an unconscious or even conscious rejection of these children. By rejection it is meant that parents withdraw from the child and fail to exhibit the warmth, affection, and responsibility that is characteristic of the relationship between parents and very young children. This pattern of rejection on the part of children and adults may account for many of the deviations in conduct found among preadolescent children. Even if children at this age are not rejected, they may, as a result of their new relationship in the gang, have a changing attitude towards parents. This change in attitude may arouse enough feeling of guilt to cause them to feel rejected or unworthy.

Personality development, it has long been recognized, is intimately related to emotional security and the basis for such security is to be found in the relations between parents and children. The conflicts that arise between parents and children as a result of the child's efforts to attain status with his preadolescent gang and in conformity to his increasingly independent physical status affect whatever relationship he has had to his parents. It seems likely that if some rejection or misunderstanding were already present it would be em-

⁵⁶ Bloss, *op cit.*

phasized and exaggerated during these years. If the child were over-dependent his struggle would be intensified. The conflicts of this period would constitute for most children the first sustained challenge to their security within the family. If later childhood is a period characterized by rejection of varying intensity it can be assumed that it will also be a period in which personal maladjustments may occur.

Parental rejection and delinquency. Students of personality development and of problem behavior have presented a relatively clear picture of the influence of parental rejection. Symonds⁵⁷ has devoted a whole volume to this particular problem. The studies and discussions in his book indicate the possibility of finding invariant relationship between a person's behavior or personality and the parental forces to which he has been subjected earlier in life. Delinquency has been found to be clearly related to emotional insecurity. Chapter I of Symonds' book summarizes a large number of studies and interpretations from many sources, all of which point to the general conclusion that if either or both parents reject a child, that child is likely to be characterized as rebellious, hostile, jealous, attention-seeking, hyperactive, and annoying in school. It is interesting to note that these are almost the identical terms used by the psychiatrists, teachers, and parents to describe the preadolescent child. Symonds' work further shows that the rejected child may show such delinquencies as truancy, thieving, and lying, and may find satisfaction in having his mother upset about him. On the other hand if either or both parents overprotect a child, that child is likely to be characterized as over-dependent, infantile, possessing feelings of inferiority, withdrawing, having poor social adjustment, having poor work habits, and having a good vocabulary. Symonds' own studies, reported in chapters II and III of his book, substantiate generally these same findings:

⁵⁷ Percival Symonds, *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939).

There is a tendency for accepted children to be more friendly, to *resent authority less*, to face the future more confidently, to be less confused, to have happy dreams more frequently, to have more normal wishes, . . . and to be less discouraged than rejected children (p. 93)

The more recent investigations in juvenile delinquency also emphasize the importance of parental relations as a causal factor in delinquent conduct. Healy and Bronner⁵⁸ in a study of delinquency present evidence of the close relationship between delinquency and emotional disturbance in the home.

Among the 143 delinquents accepted as case studies for treatment, major emotional disturbances were discovered to exist in 131 instances (92 percent). Our studies of these delinquents and their family lives show:

Feelings of being rejected, unloved, or insecure—53 cases.

Deep feelings of being thwarted in self-expression and other self-satisfactions—45 cases.

Marked feelings of inadequacy or inferiority in situation or activities such as homelife, school, companionship, or sports—62 cases.

Emotional disturbances about family disharmonies, discipline, etc.—43 cases.

Zucker⁵⁹ studied the relation of standards of behavior and delinquency to the emotional attachment of children to their parents, using in addition to the usual case study materials several projective techniques and extensive interviews. Comparisons were made of twenty-five delinquent and twenty-five non-delinquent boys. His findings are valuable in showing the effect that parental relationships may have. The delinquent and non-delinquent boys were alike in their knowledge of what was right and what was wrong socially. The difference between them was not in the cognitive levels

⁵⁸ W. Healy and A. F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and its Treatment* (Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936).

⁵⁹ Herbert Zucker, "The Emotional Attachments of Children to their Parents as Related to Standards of Behavior and Delinquency," *The Journal of Delinquency*, 1943, pp. 31-40.

See also Herbert Zucker, "Affectional Identification and Delinquency," *Archives of Psychology*, May, 1943.

of personality or intelligence but in the emotional levels of personality. The study showed that the lack of a close emotional tie between most delinquent children and their parents results in but a superficial assimilation of the moral values and ideals of the parents. Open rejection by parents, broken homes, and incessant quarreling were typical of the delinquent homes. Where these were found in non-delinquent cases in each case the child had made at least one strong emotional attachment in or out of the home. "The thoroughness and depth with which moral indoctrination will affect behavior will depend upon the emotional value children attach to it."

While Macfarlane's work ⁶⁰ was with younger children than are here being considered, her results may have implications for understanding older children. She found that the pattern of response associated with intimate personal contacts of the early periods of physical dependence—affectional, hostile, tearful, etc.—are critical ones for school adjustment and "psychosexual maturity." Unconscious ambivalent drives in parent-child relationships and strained marital adjustments are associated with anxiety trends and compulsive or explosive behavior in the children she studied.

Parental rejection and personality traits. Martin's study ⁶¹ is of particular interest because it deals with the age ranges in which the social characteristics herein described are usually exhibited. He examined 3,000 children below age thirteen (average age ten years, five months) by means of psychiatric interviews and observation of group activity. The purpose was to determine the relation of parental attitudes to the child's personality as revealed in group activities. This study reveals that all children have greater or lesser problems created by parental attitudes. These problems differ in degree rather than in kind as we go from one family or from

⁶⁰ J. W. Macfarlane, "The Guidance Study," *Sociometry*, 1939, pp. 1-23.

⁶¹ Alexander R. Martin, "A Study of Parental Attitudes and their Influence upon Personality Development," *Education*, 1943, pp. 596-608.

one racial group to another. Furthermore, it seemed clear that a child's behavior was more directly related to the intensity of his problem than to its nature. Much of a child's behavior represented the various strategies and maneuvers that he had found would bring him the greatest relief or best solution. Urgent problems made the child more compulsive and indiscriminate in his choice of solution and invariably produced extreme behavior. Even in those instances where parental attitudes were very severe and were obviously having a marked effect upon behavior, the child showed no awareness of what was really troubling him.

Where the interview disclosed no serious problems in the parent-child relationship, the child, regardless of social, economic, physical, or intellectual status was a happy outgoing, constructive member of the group. A child might be very thin, undersized, or crippled, or have a very low intelligence quotient, but these were not the most important formative factors. The strongest personality determinant in all these instances was whether the child's parents accepted him or not.

In discussing unfavorable parental attitudes Martin points out four categories: (1) rejection, (2) deprivation, (3) over-protection, and (4) exploitation. He believes that overt and intentional rejection was a less serious problem than over-protection and exploitation, and therefore resulted in less extreme behavior. So-called "nervous" behavior, restlessness, tension, mannerisms, and nail-biting seemed to be more related to over-protection and exploitation while anti-social expressions and behavior such as swearing and stealing were more characteristic of the rejected and deprived child. The over-protected and exploited child showed greater difficulty in adjusting to a group either for work or play. Children of parents in these classifications (over-protection and exploitation) showed greater difficulties in making adjustments during puberty.

Stott's recent researches ⁶² are of interest to our discussion

⁶² L. H. Stott, "Adolescents' Dislikes Regarding Parental Behavior and Their Significance," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1940, pp. 393-414. Also "Home Punishment of Adolescents," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, pp. 415-428.

in so far as they seek to test the theory that personality integration during adolescence may be fostered or hindered by parental relationships. Stott found that serious criticisms of parental behavior by adolescents tended to coincide somewhat with low personality scores obtained by averaging the ratings on several personality tests. Parental behavior, particularly of the mother, appeared to be most significantly related to the personality development of adolescent boys living in city homes. Partridge,⁶³ in a chapter on young people in the family, has summarized statistical studies on the relationships between parents and adolescent boys and girls. He draws the following conclusions: intimate and confidential relationships with parents, particularly with the mother, are definitely connected with good adjustments during adolescence; maladjustment is much greater among the boys and girls who do not have harmonious, confidential relationships with parents; very severe parental discipline of children contributes heavily to adolescent maladjustments.

The immediate preceding paragraphs have intimated that later childhood may be a period in which previous rejection and emotional instability seem to reach a crisis; or because of behavior peculiar to the level, rejection may begin or increase. Studies have been reviewed which show the effect of parental rejection upon personality development and its relation to delinquency. Maladjustive behavior during the preadolescent years is better understood when seen in this larger relationship. The following section will attempt to show further how problem behavior is related to this growth cycle.

3. Behavior problems and delinquency originate during preadolescence. Because of the greater amount of study and social concern, it is commonly assumed that serious behavior disorders and delinquency most often have their onset during

⁶³ E. A. Partridge, *Social Psychology of Adolescence* (New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1939).

adolescence rather than childhood. Blanchard ⁶⁴ in a recent review of the available statistics does not confirm this assumption; instead it would seem that delinquency ordinarily begins before adolescence during the childhood years. Cole ⁶⁵ has interpreted data reported by the Gluecks for 1,000 juvenile court cases in relation to adolescence; 31.6 per cent had been brought into court before adolescence; 83.7 per cent had manifested delinquent tendencies before adolescence, even if not brought into court; at least 35 per cent could have been recognized as delinquent by the time they reached the third grade in school. Fewer than one-fifth of these 1,000 children became delinquent during adolescence; more than four-fifths were delinquent before adolescence and continued delinquent behavior after becoming adolescent. Healy and Bronner ⁶⁶ report that in 153 intensively studied cases the first known delinquency occurred at eight years or earlier in 48 per cent and after twelve years in only 22 per cent.

Aichorn ⁶⁷ has distinguished between two types of delinquency, one developing over a long period of time, the other manifested as a sudden outbreak in a previously non-delinquent individual. He says that statistical studies in this country suggest that the latter type is rarer than the former, for these statistics indicate the delinquent conduct begins in childhood much more frequently than during adolescence. Perhaps the conclusion may be drawn that while delinquency may be an outcome of adolescent conflicts, even if it has not been characteristic of the individual in childhood, it is a more probable outcome if it has previously been the reaction to earlier childhood conflicts or other childhood experiences.

⁶⁴ Phyllis Blanchard, "Adolescent Experience in Relation to Personality and Behavior," *Personality and Behavior Disorders*, Vol. II, edited by Hunt. (New York, The Ronald Press, 1944).

⁶⁵ Luella Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence* (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1936).

⁶⁶ Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ A. Aichorn, *Wayward Youth* (New York, Viking Press, 1938).

Ackerson's study⁶⁸ of 5,000 children who have had psychiatric, psychological, physical, and social examinations at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research reveals some indication of the problem trends among children during later childhood. The children in this study were not delinquent or mentally abnormal. The records reveal that there was an increase in behavior problems from nine to thirteen years and then a decrease until seventeen. From their summaries it is evident that the conduct of the preadolescent with normal or above normal intelligence does not improve during the years nine to thirteen. The problems of children were classified as conduct or personality problems; in both classifications there was an increase during preadolescence for both boys and girls and a decrease after age thirteen. Certain forms of behavior or conduct problems seemed highly related to age. "Running with the gang" reached its maximum at ten years, "fighting" a maximum at ten years, "disobedience" at nine years for boys, at twelve years for girls, "stubbornness" at nine or ten, and "rudeness" between ten and eleven. It is interesting to note how well this statistical summary for a large number of cases agrees with the studies quoted in the first section of the present chapter as to characteristic behavior for this growth period.

Conflicting evidence on relation of environment to gang life, hence on good and ill effects of gang membership. Maladjustments, it has already been pointed out, are often the effects of parental rejection. In what other ways are the social characteristics, believed to be true of these children, related to the conduct disorders so prevalent during these years? The concluding section of this discussion will show there is rather general agreement that the "gang" life of this period has many values to the growing child and that its activities are in the main wholesome. Thrasher,⁶⁹ however, after in-

⁶⁸ Luton Ackerson, *Children's Behavior Problems*, Vol. I (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931).

⁶⁹ Thrasher, *op. cit.*

vestigating 1,313 Chicago city gangs, most of them juvenile groups, arrives at the conclusion almost diametrically opposed to the view that gangs serve a desirable purpose in the child's life. Instead of the gangs being natural or inevitable he concludes that they are products of social deterioration and disintegration in communities. He adds that gangs start on a diffuse basis, becoming solidified through continued association with each other. If the solidified gang persists it either conforms to the standards of adult society and becomes a club or conventionalized gang, or it defies society as a criminal gang. In either case, he believes, it deeply influences the character of the gang members.

Furfey,⁷⁰ working in a different type of environment, finds that gangs tend to dissolve after puberty at which time, although they do exist, they exercise less influence upon the boys' lives. These two studies would lead toward the conclusion that perhaps the environment, or more specifically the neighborhood, of the gang, may determine whether or not the younger groups will tend to become delinquent.

Kvaraceus⁷¹ confirms this idea in his summary of the effect that the type of neighborhood has on the actual cases of delinquency among elementary school age children. Seven per cent of the total elementary school population (7,475 children) were referred to a children's bureau for delinquent conduct; 1.9 per cent of such population in the "good" neighborhoods were referred; 5 per cent of such population from "average" neighborhoods; while in "inferior" or "depressed" neighborhoods 12.5 per cent of the elementary school population were delinquent cases. He also analyzes data to determine the extent to which delinquencies are related to gang affiliation. The Children's Bureau at Passaic had more cases of first known delinquency occurring with three or

⁷⁰ *The Growing Boy*.

⁷¹ William C. Kvaraceus, *Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools* (New York, World Book Co., 1945). This corroborates a number of earlier studies not listed here by Shaw, by Glueck and Glueck, and others.

more companions (40.2 per cent) than with two, one, or no companions in first known delinquency. These figures, however, do not agree with other figures he quotes from the New Jersey Courts and from the Gluecks' survey. These sources revealed that most juvenile delinquencies are committed by solitary delinquents, and that more than two-thirds of all juvenile delinquencies are committed alone or with only one companion.

The evidence concerning the ill effects of this early gang life is neither clear nor sufficient, yet there is some indication that there are dangers in it if the gang values persist past puberty and if the environment of the gang does not provide enough opportunity for wholesome activities.

Intelligence and maladjustment. The presence of many behavior problems not found in the child at an earlier age and the tendency of the child at this age to adopt, temporarily, "subversive" standards may lead to a further misunderstanding and emphasize the conflict between adults and children. Some of the earlier studies of juvenile delinquency stressed the factor of the relation of intelligence to behavior disorders. As a result it is sometimes assumed that behavior disorders are somehow related to low or below normal intelligence. This factor may emphasize parental rejection if parents assume that the child's behavior is indicative of below normal intelligence. Jones⁷² in analyzing a number of studies to determine the relation between intelligence and "moral" behavior indicates that mental ability is a significant factor but that the correlations are not high. Other factors are so influential that it cannot be regarded as the main determiner. In reviewing the findings of research he notes the following studies of the relationship between intelligence and behavior. Terman found that at least one out of every five gifted children that he investigated had more moral faults than the average of the general popu-

⁷² Vernon Jones, "Children's Morals," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1931).

lation. Hartshorne and May discovered a correlation of .397 between intelligence and honesty when home background was statistically considered. In Burt's studies of delinquency there was a larger percentage of inferior intelligence among delinquents than in the general population, but a considerable proportion were of superior intellect. Although intelligence seems to have some positive correlation with moral behavior, many other factors associated with mental differences are also acting and cannot be separated, he concludes. Davidson,⁷³ made a study of highly intelligent children from nine to twelve with varying economic backgrounds primarily to determine the relationship between such background and personality; but in doing so, also compared the highly intelligent children to the less bright in their personality development. In this connection her data reveal that the bright children at this age showed no unique or fixed personality pattern that differentiated them from the less bright. Some of the characteristics she describes for all the children studied, those in the normal intelligence range as well as a large group of distinctly intellectually gifted children, substantiate to some degree the previously reported attitudes of preadolescent children. Their "wishes" were primarily selfish; benefits for one's self came first, followed by a desire for popularity or for prestige in one's group. Their fears were largely realistic fears of personal dangers. They were only moderately interested in school work, their preferences there being first in sports and games, second in art and constructive work. All these preferences were activities in which there was opportunity for self-expression. Their preference for leisure activities was predominantly for outdoor sports, while for indoor activity they preferred drawing and painting to reading or studying. The purpose in referring to these materials concerning the relation of intelligence to conduct peculiar to this level is to indicate as far as possible that

⁷³ Helen H. Davidson, *Personality and Economic Background* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1943).

this behavior pattern is not typical merely of those children who have less capacity for complying to adult standards.

School standards and maladjustment. Still another related aspect of behavior at this level should receive some attention in a search for the background of maladjustment. It would seem, in the light of the pattern of resistance to adult standards and the accompanying ineffectiveness of adult approval, that school standards and the highly structured program of the typical school may contribute to the conflicts resulting in delinquency. Some of the students of delinquency and personality disorders have pointed this out specifically. Kvaraceus has presented extensive recent data in this relation. In comparing all the outstanding studies he notes that there is a varying but always significant relationship between delinquency and these factors: retardation in school, low marks in school, and dislike for school and its associations. These studies are also in general agreement that the incidence of truancy is especially high among delinquents; the figures for truancy among delinquents in these studies ranged from 25 per cent to 60 per cent. In one of his own studies Kvaraceus⁷⁴ compared a sample of 761 delinquents over a five-year period with non-delinquent controls. Some of the results pertinent to this discussion are: 44 per cent of the delinquents repeated one or more terms in school, whereas only 17 per cent of the non-delinquents showed such repetition; 34 per cent of the delinquents were truant during these years, but only 6.8 per cent of the non-delinquents were truant; 60 per cent of the delinquents expressed dislike for school and its associations; and there was a marked falling off in delinquency when schools closed for the summer. His experience with problem- and delinquent-children and his study and research in the same field have caused Kvaraceus to come to the conclusion that the schools carry a great deal of responsibility for delinquent conduct. John-

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*

son's ⁷⁵ study of adult criminals revealed the fact that 61 per cent of the first admissions to corrective institutions in a single state and 78 per cent of recidivists showed truancy as the first offense. He interprets this as evidence that failure to meet classroom standards of behavior in the elementary schools, leading to truancy, is a cause of crime. Chapter 5 of the present study will deal more specifically with school achievement problems. At this point the purpose is to indicate that the limited understanding of this period of development results in two common errors on the part of the school in dealing with these children. The school, (1) places upon them standards of conduct and behavior for which they are not ready, and (2) considers as undesirable certain types of behavior which are quite natural for this particular age.

These paragraphs on behavior problems and delinquency have attempted to point out that this is the age at which behavior disorders are most frequently reported and most commonly found; that serious behavior disorders beginning at this age are likely to continue in adolescence; that these maladjustments are positively related to the parental rejection pattern, certain aspects of "gang" life, and resistance to school requirements; and that these maladjustments are not related highly to intelligence or capacity.

Unraveling juvenile delinquency: a comprehensive study. An extensive and exhaustive study by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck ⁷⁶ appeared while this volume was in proof stage. A brief note was, therefore, all that could be inserted.

The delinquents as a group are distinguishable from the nondelinquents: (1) *physically*, in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution (solid, closely knit, muscular); (2) *temperamentally*, in being restlessly energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive, (often sadistic)—traits which may be related more or less to the erratic growth pattern

⁷⁵ Arthur C. Johnson, Jr., "Our Schools Make Criminals," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1942, pp. 316-320.

⁷⁶ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1950), pp. 281-282.

and its physiologic correlates or consequences; (3) *in attitude*, by being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, non-submissive to authority; (4) *psychologically*, in tending to direct and concrete, rather than symbolic, intellectual expression, and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (5) *socio-culturally*, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the control group in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fiber by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protestors or, according to psychoanalytic theory, desirable sources for emulation and the construction of a consistent, well-balanced, and socially normal superego during the early stages of character development. While in individual cases the stresses contributed by any one of the above pressure areas of dissocial-behavior tendency may adequately account for persistence in delinquency, in general the high probability of delinquency is dependent upon the interplay of the conditions and forces from all these areas.

In the exciting, stimulating, but little controlled and culturally inconsistent environment of the under-privileged areas, such boys readily give expression to their untamed impulses and their self-centered desires by means of various forms of delinquent behavior. Their tendencies toward uninhibited energy-expression are deeply anchored in *soma* and *psyche* and in the malformations of character during the first few years of life.

The study rules out several factors usually assumed to be causal, notably, ill health, culture conflict, and large families. The kind of housing and the underprivileged area of residence are less important than what goes on "under the roof." The discussion of prediction of delinquency should be read by students and parents.

4. *The effect of failure to be accepted by the gang.* Failure to be accepted by other children at this time in their intimate group life may have undesirable consequences. The final section of this chapter will deal with the value to be gained from such acceptance.

The undesirable consequences of failure to be accepted by the childhood gang may be in many cases fairly remote in time. That is, those children who remain under the close protection of adults and are responsive to their approval for motivation may often appear well adjusted. Their difficulties or maladjustments may be postponed until they attempt at

a later period to achieve independence. They may become emotionally immature adults. Some of the undesirable behavior and maladjustments during later childhood, clearly are partially due to the child's attempt to achieve status with his peers. What are some of the causes and evidence of this particular factor in maladjustment?

The most obvious relationship probably is the effect that individual deviations in physical size or physical ability have on group acceptance. The longitudinal studies of physical growth have added to the evidence that it is not sound to group children or to describe children on the basis of their age range because of the individual variations in patterns of growth. For example, the work of Dearborn and his associates⁷⁷ has provided evidence that the age of maximum growth is a more reliable index for grouping children than are other indices of maturity, and that at all age levels there are marked individual variations in physical size. The majority of children will exhibit a very slow growth rate between nine and twelve, but it is nevertheless important to note that for some children these years will see the beginning of their maximum growth period. Equally important is the tendency for individuals who have a relatively late period of maximum growth to be shorter and less physically developed during preadolescence. There is evidence that this period is not one of dramatic physical development for most children but that the pattern of early maturing and late maturing individuals will cause some extreme variations in size.

Physical skills and size are of such importance at this age that much social contact centers around them. The studies of group formation in an earlier section showed how group membership at this age in particular depended upon age, sex, and size. Variations in size and physical skill are likely to cause a child to be rejected by the group. The boy

⁷⁷ W. F. Dearborn and J. W. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge, Mass., Sci-Art Publishers, 1941).

who cannot throw a ball or run fast becomes a group liability. The girl who does not roller skate or ride a bicycle is likely to have a lonely time. The failure to develop these skills is likely to occur in boys who are not physically vigorous because they cannot compete with other boys of their own age. For them sex differentiation is confused and difficult. These boys may continue to rely upon the protectiveness of adults. Extremely aggressive and active girls may also encounter difficulties in their relationships with the girls' clique. Large or fat girls may also be left out of groups. Children who do not develop these skills offer a problem to the teacher or group worker. We have a lead from the experiments of the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago which suggests the wisdom of individual coaching to improve skills which will prove useful in helping children make group contacts. Failure to be accepted by the group at this level may cause the individual to go to some lengths in the effort to establish self-assurance and to find satisfying means of self-realization, or he may retain infantile ways.

Zachry⁷⁸ suggests that the child who is not sure of parental affection is likely to feel undue reluctance to try himself out in the new relations of a group.

His emotional readiness to move from the greater dependency of early childhood into friendships with peers stems from his basic security with the adults who are closest to him. Or, in hostility against a world he takes to be unfriendly, he is so given over to the urgency to compete with peers for adult attention that he is not free to enjoy companionship with them. (p. 280)

Failure to be accepted by the group can thus be seen as a result of physical deviation as well as the lack of security in home relations.

Summary. Personal maladjustments. There seems to be adequate basis in the changing social status of children at this level for conflicts serious enough to result in personality

⁷⁸ Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

disorder of lasting character. Due to the social attitudes and behavior commonly exhibited by these children there is reason to believe that parents may show an attitude of rejection toward them. Earlier rejection may be intensified. Studies have been reviewed which show the ill effects of parental rejection upon personality development and its high relationship to delinquency. Maladjustive behavior during the preadolescent years is better understood when seen in this larger relationship.

It has been pointed out that this is the age when behavior disorders are more frequently reported to child guidance centers. Serious behavior difficulties and delinquency beginning at this age are likely to continue in adolescence. More delinquency begins during these years than during adolescence. These maladjustments appear to be highly related to the parental rejection pattern, certain aspects of "gang" life, and resistance to school standards. They are not highly related to intelligence or capacity.

Some maladjustments appear to be related to the child's efforts or failure to be accepted by the gang. Very often these failures are due to variations in size or physical skill. The child's emotional readiness to participate in group life is probably dependent upon earlier emotional relations with his family. The changing social characteristics of these children may result in serious conduct disorders if adjustments are not made for their expression in desirable ways. The following section will describe how these social attitudes can be utilized in promoting wholesome personality development.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR SECTION B

1. Cite observed or recalled incidents which illustrate any items of any nature covered in this section.
2. A special study might be made by a small committee of the rapidly developing literature upon delinquency and later childhood, the work to be divided and the total report to show current thinking and

data on the origins of delinquency at this age, the relationship of parents to the problem, and of economic status to the problem.

The relationship of rejection by parents or of the failure of parents to understand sympathetically the problems of this age may be treated as a topic. The opposite parental attitude of over-protection and certain other attitudes, such as exploitive or punitive, should also be included so far as literature can be found.

Develop the significance of the facts being demonstrated constantly that we can recognize incipient delinquency. What can the school and parents do about this?

Another part of the report or a separate report might deal with the conflicting evidence on the relationship of gang life to behavior problems.

The relation of intelligence to delinquency should be summarized.

A detailed report should be made upon the relationship of the school itself—its standards, its organization, its curriculum, its methods of handling the pupil population—to this whole matter of delinquency.

The literature is developing well on this topic.

3. A brief report may be made upon the consequences to the child of rejection by a group of his own age mates.
4. Devise a set of suggestions and principles which might aid adults, whether parents or teachers, in understanding more clearly the personal maladjustments of this age and the causes thereof. Add then a corresponding set of suggestions and principles designed to aid us in handling children while going through this period of maladjustment.
5. The preadolescent period may be a time when serious personal maladjustments occur. A member of the class or a small committee might find it profitable to report on a case history which illustrates the threat of delinquency in the absence of emotional security. Such a case is interestingly presented in *These Are Your Children* by Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer. Beginning on page 106 is the story of "Runaway Mark." Mark is a nine-year-old whose lack of success in school seemed to be the basis for his emotional instability. Equally valuable at this point would be the report on another nine-year-old. Beginning on page 109 of the same book, there is a description of a nine-year-old girl who had very little ability to do typical school work.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviews may be made of such volumes as Aichorn, Kvaraceus, Symonds, or any other similar volumes which attract the attention of the student.

A volume which appeared as this manuscript was going to press is worthy of special study and report. Albert Deutsch, *Our Rejected Children* (New York, Little, Brown & Co., 1950). Reviewers have praised

the volume highly. The factors contributing to delinquency and the successful effort to combat these factors are presented in detail. See also *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* by Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1950).

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SECTION C

THE PERIOD PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR DESIRABLE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Open rejection of adults and their standards, sharp antagonism between boys and girls, the formation of and loyalty to "subversive" gangs mark the efforts of these children to grow up. What should be the reaction of parents and teachers? One attitude very widely held is that this is a very trying time, and that a few years will see marked improvement whether adults attempt any guidance or not. Another common attitude is that all these characteristics are undesirable and hence we should treat these boys and girls either as babies or as grownups.

The thesis of this volume is that we accept these children for what they are and take advantage of the unique opportunities presented for stimulating desirable development. The previous section pointed out that there were dangers of permanent damage if we do not. Those authorities who have dealt with this level recognize some definite values to be gained from these social characteristics. It would seem that the following are among the most important opportunities available during the later years of childhood: (1) gaining in independence, (2) growing in moral judgment, (3) completing sexual identification, and (4) lessening the strains of adolescence.

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1. Gaining in independence. The attachment to parents during the early years of an individual's life is so strong that it appears necessary in many cases for the individual to make a relatively sharp break in his early childhood relations with them. The annoying habits, the resentments, the antagonisms, and the frequent regression to infantile physical habits are a result of the child's effort to break up the established pattern of his relations with adults, particularly parents. This disorganization of the child's personality is necessary for satisfactory adult and adolescent personality development. This is the child's first sustained effort to gain independence, not in his actions alone, but in his thinking. The success of this early striving for independence to a large measure determines the child's reaction to further independence in adolescence and maturity.

The particular kind of preadolescent behavior may be regarded as a distinct disintegrative period of personality development because of the absence of acceptable standards. This disintegration seems to be an inevitable breakdown and a return to earlier forms of gratification. In our culture it is necessary to a greater or lesser degree before reorganization takes place in terms of mature dealing with people, reality, and self. The extreme forms of behavior often exhibited during this growth cycle are a result of the efforts of children to free themselves from adult domination. Bloss⁷⁹ says:

In the allegiance to a gang or group of friends of his own age and sex, the child develops for the *first time an intense loyalty outside the family*, and often in conflict with some of its standards. For a time he may be arrayed with the gang against all adults and their demands, a typical state of the preadolescent. This is a valuable step forward in breaking his dependence on the family group and in finding social satisfaction on a broader basis. But gangs are factional, often hostile to each other, and utterly unmindful of any larger social good than their own.

⁷⁹ Bloss, *op. cit.*

Adults often fail to aid children toward independence. The need individuals have for independence from parental control as they approach maturity is not to be doubted. Is it possible that the failure of parents and teachers to recognize this first indication of the need for freedom results in a breach between them and the growing child, causing an intensification of the kind of behavior usually considered unsocial? Benedict⁸⁰ in discussing the need for a gradual growth in independence before and during adolescence says,

If we were to look at our social arrangements as an outsider, we should infer directly from our family institutions and habits of child training that many individuals would not "put off childish things"; we should have to say that our adult activities demand traits that are interdicted in children, and that far from redoubling our efforts to help children bridge this gap, adults in our culture put all the blame on the child when he fails to manifest spontaneously the new behavior or, overstepping the mark, manifests it with untoward belligerence.

In another instance Benedict stresses the need for a more gradual growth in independence and an earlier recognition for the need of such freedom. It is her belief that one of the greatest problems in our scheme of socialization and education is the "dogma" that children must be obedient and adults must issue commands; that children must be protected and adults must take the "knocks." She points out that, previous to adolescence, children have had no practice in making decisions or in reliance upon themselves. Benedict stresses that the infantile fixations and frequent inability to act as an adult in our competitive society are understandable when we consider the right-about-face expected of the individual when he passes from the stage in which obedience and submissiveness and dependence are his only virtues to the stage in which initiative and authority and self-reliance are his passports to the respect of his fellows.

Growth in achieving independence aided by activities in the peer society. The assumption that growth toward inde-

⁸⁰ Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry*, 1938, pp. 161-167.

pendence is desirable and that the older child's behavior is partially explainable in terms of his efforts to achieve more independence makes it important to consider those relationships that will promote this desirable growth. There are strong indications that the child's relationship with his gang gives him opportunity to express and feel his independence. Isaacs⁸¹ writing from the psychoanalytic point of view recognizes a fundamental step forward in social development as the individual finds success in these groups. In her study of children she points out that these childhood groups reach considerable stability by age nine, and that during the tenth and eleventh years loyalty to his fellows becomes the child's chief virtue and grownups are largely shut out of his feelings and values. She adds that the formation of these gangs gives the individual support against rival groups as well as the courage and power to face adults. The value of this inner support is expressed as follows:

... Under the shelter of this alliance with other children the child wins his first independence of his parents and teachers and begins to see them more nearly as they are.

Zachry⁸² also regards this group life before puberty as an important step in the growth of independence for the individual. She describes it as only one step removed from self-love in that the child chooses others so nearly like himself. These gangs are not characterized by competition within the group. She expresses the idea that this early group life serves as a haven from parental authority in that these friends make fewer demands than parents and do not represent a superior power either to protect or to control. It is probably equally true that in the cohesiveness of the group the child takes refuge from parental solicitude which, with his growing desire to demonstrate competence, he may find overwhelming. By extravagant disregard for the standards of

⁸¹ Isaacs, *op. cit.*

⁸² Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

adults in manners and grooming, the child now pretends he has little need of them. This seeking of independence may also account for the great lengths to which these children go to maintain secrecy regarding the activities of the gang and to develop secret signs and language.

Brown⁸³ also recognizes many values in the nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-old play group or gang. It is his belief that no other group except the family itself is of such fundamental importance in the social development of the child; here another type of "we" feeling is acquired; coöperation is learned; common interests develop; and common activities are carried out by the group. He adds that formerly the gang was explained on the basis of greater capacity for social participation but that the peculiar aspects of the older child's gang are probably better understood, not as a response to a child's need for being in the midst of the group, but rather as a means of wider self-expression, as freedom from the strictures of the home environment. Rand⁸⁴ believes that the tendency for adults to suspect unwholesomeness in the gang life of the ten- or eleven-year-old because of their emphasis upon secrecy and independence is not well founded, but that most of the secrets and activities at these ages are thoroughly wholesome. She concludes that the secret aspects of these groups and their resistance to adult supervision gives the children a sense of importance and "belonging" that is necessary for gaining independence.

Adults should be ready to aid. It is not suggested here that either parents or teachers can allow this group life and unruliness to go completely untrammelled but rather that they recognize its cause, utilize its value, and provide a frame of life for these children in which the gains in independence can be made gradually. The need for freedom is not clear cut at this early age level. The child is not likely to use his

⁸³ Brown, *op. cit.*

⁸⁴ Winifred Rand and others, *Growth and Development in Young Children*, 3rd ed., rev. (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., 1940).

independence to any great advantage if in gaining it he loses the security he feels in his home. Zachry⁸⁵ proposes that the child's behavior during these years is an attempt to disguise from his parents the fact that he is depending upon them for protection in the time of need; he gives only an outward appearance of greatly increased independence of his parents.

... In all his excursions from the safety and affection of home, in experiments with danger, in freedom from protection and control, he holds his parents still in mind as the chief source of guardianship and home as the haven to which he returns from adventures in the alluring unknown. When, as frequently occurs, a new experience is too much for him, he hurries back for parental comfort in a quite unequivocal way. Further, he is still possessive of his parents; they are an important source of prestige with his gang. He boasts to his peers of their strength and wisdom, as he boasts of his material possessions. He may even brag about restrictions they place upon him.

It would appear that in order for the child to make this desirable step in gaining independence from parental control, he must be provided with the time and space necessary to join in freely with the group activities without losing the security he feels in his home. This means the home must realize the conflicts apparent in living up to two sets of standards. Accompanying these conflicts will be anxiety and fear. Adults in the environment must be available for refuge when the gang rejects the growing child.

Positive family attitudes and conditions greatly aid child toward independence. In the previous section on personal maladjustments the work of Martin⁸⁶ was referred to in that it showed some of the effects of parental rejection on children in later childhood. This study of 3,000 children of the age range we are here considering also disclosed certain intra-familial conditions and attitudes which the authors came to look upon as positive. Certain family attitudes and conditions were invariably associated with a friendly happy child

⁸⁵ Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.* p. 275.

⁸⁶ Martin, *op. cit.*

who was relatively free from anxieties and was a constructive member of a group of other children. He gives the following as indicating the presence of positive parental factors based on data obtained from these ten-and-a-half-year-olds spontaneously and from non-leading questions.

- (1) Parents are first introduced as being permissive or "giving."
- (2) Parents' *first* attitude toward a good school report card is positive and accepting, not coercive or exhorting. A poor report card is taken as indicating the need for help and not for punishment.
- (3) Parents are presented as giving time, thought, and effort rather than material things.
- (4) Parents listen to and accept the child's early ideas and ambitions and do not foist theirs upon him.
- (5) Parents present the group agency as a place to go play, to do things with others, and to make friends.
- (6) Parents and siblings are presented as helpful and their help is not felt to set up any implicit or explicit obligations.
- (7) The child presents parents and siblings as doing things with him as well as for him.
- (8) Parents assign physical jobs with bulky objects such as furniture and boxes, all involving lifting, carrying, or fetching. This makes the child feel accepted as healthy and strong.
- (9) All siblings "fight," wrestle, and have rough and tumble play with each other, often on the bed.
- (10) Story telling by parents.
- (11) Parents laugh and joke with the children.
- (12) Father and mother live in the home and are presented as doing things together.

This list of positive parental factors, associated with friendly, happy children and children who were accepted by others in group activities is presented to show those provisions suggested as probably necessary for gaining independence. These children were free to make friends outside the family, time was freely given them for their own activities, their increasing physical skill was recognized, their own ideas were respected, they were allowed vigorous activity in the home, they felt parents to be helpful, and they were still allowed to

enjoy some "babyish" activities. In this pattern is found freedom yet security, independence yet babying, and stability yet experimentation.

The preceding paragraphs have attempted to show that sound social development can take place during the pre-adolescent years if opportunities are provided for the child to gain independence from parental attachments. Some of the seemingly undesirable behavior of this period may be attributed to the child's efforts to express this independence. Most obviously this new freedom is expressed in loyalty to group or gang standards and activities. Membership in a childhood gang appears to have the following values in giving the child independence from adults: the individual gains inner support; gang friends make fewer demands than adults; escape from over-solicitude is provided; wider opportunity is provided for expression of self; and the secrets of the gang give the child a feeling of importance. The soundness of the child's growth in self-expression and independence seems to be largely determined by the amount of security he also maintains in his home relationships. The major problem for adults is to allow the freedom necessary for gaining some independence in gang life, yet not reacting in such a way that the child loses the security he formerly felt in his home or the help he needs from understanding adults.

2. Growing in moral judgment. It may appear paradoxical to propose that there are opportunities for the development of moral judgment during a cycle of growth that has been described as one of resistance to adult standards, of antagonism between sexes, and of "subversive" gang activity. Yet there seems to be some foundation for the proposal that these characteristics may provide such opportunities. The pioneer work in the study of children's concepts of morality and moral judgment was done by Piaget.⁸⁷ Based on extensive interviews and observation of Swiss children from two to eighteen years of age he recognized five levels of moral

⁸⁷ Piaget, *op. cit.*

growth: (1) habit level in which emotional satisfactions are prominent; (2) conformity to adult requirements; (3) mutual adjustments of equals; (4) appreciation of underlying motives; and (5) codification of rules, principles, and ideals. According to these stages of development the child's first concept of what is right or wrong is simply that which his parents permit or forbid. He is governed in early childhood by what Piaget refers to as "moral realism" in which the world is exactly what it seems to be. There are no points of view; there is no relativity; things are black or white, right or wrong. Children at this stage judge behavior quite objectively and not at all in terms of motive or circumstance. Only with time, experience, and a great deal of help does the child take the next step in the development of moral judgment. Gradually, according to Piaget, he learns that rules are not objectively real, but that they are made by people, and can be modified to fit circumstances. It is only in a mature stage of development that the child can see the flexibility of the authority situations in terms of the "greater" good which lies behind most rules. This occurs at around *nine or ten years* of age. An idea of fairness develops progressively from eight to eleven, with practically all children by *eleven or twelve* believing in established justice and fair play. Only in a more advanced stage does the child grasp the concessions necessary to fulfill real justice.

The group life of later childhood would, in this connection, seem to be one of the means of attaining the third level of development, that of the "mutual of adjustment of equals" and the beginning of an understanding of the necessity to modify rules to fit circumstances.

Piaget also recognizes two sources of authority in the development of moral judgment: the authority of superiors, and the authority of equals. In his cases the authority of equals began to affect behavior and attitudes at about eight or nine years. Davis, a sociologist, also recognizes two categories of persons from whom we acquire as children our

culture and its morality: (1) those having authority over the child, and (2) those having equality with him. He would agree with Piaget in distinguishing two types of morality, that of restraint and that of coöperation, and in considering that they are mainly the respective products of these two types of relationship.

A group of English children of similar status to the Swiss used by Piaget was examined by Harrower⁸⁸ with generally similar results. But when children of quite superior backgrounds were used it was shown that in certain environments children could advance through the stages recognized by Piaget so rapidly that the characteristics of the most advanced stage were exhibited at ages corresponding to the beginning stage for less favored children.

Lerner⁸⁹ in a study of American children of somewhat more privileged socio-economic status than Piaget's selection of Swiss children found a general check with Piaget's findings. His study makes at least one valuable addition to our understanding of the particular group under consideration. He reports that children from eight to twelve are governed by a double basis for morality. It is, for example, worse to lie to your father than to your mother, not only because he can "punish harder" but also because "your mother is sweeter" or "understands you better." The child in such an instance is governed not only by fear but also by the desire "not to let mother down." As the child's capacity to identify himself with others and to be interested in others grows, his capacity to judge situations on the wider basis develops. Lerner's conclusion is that the child becomes less dependent upon adult authority, and in time even less dependent upon

⁸⁸ M. R. Harrower, "Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child," *British Journal of Psychology* (February, 1934), pp. 75-95.

⁸⁹ E. Lerner and L. B. Murphy, "Methods for the Study of Personality in Young Children," Society for Research in Child Development, No. 4. (Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1941).

Kingsley Davis, "The Child and the Social Structure," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1940, pp. 217-229.

the majority rule of his peers; he develops capacity to "judge" situations for himself.

A study by Eberhart⁹⁰ of children's attitudes toward property in various situations shows, as might be expected, great variation at age six. Acceptable attitudes develop rapidly up to age nine, with more gradual achievement of distinctions from then on. Children in the upper grades make fairly good distinctions between the seriousness of various offenses, but do not yet clearly classify types of offense, i.e., taking home property, lost property, property of many owners, of one owner. Actual stealing was rated most serious, but hoodwinking utilities, keeping found property, using belongings of siblings were less serious.

Adults must recognize children's growth in making decisions and the difficulties confronting the child. A serious responsibility rests on parents and teachers to recognize the difficulties presented to children by conflicting codes.⁹¹ First there is the inescapable difference between the value and sanction of the peer society and of the adult society. Second, adult society presents several codes, not merely between social classes and cliques but within a given class. Third, adults seem to use one set of values on one occasion, and change to a second for other occasions. Conduct regarded as "bad" in one situation seems to be accepted in another.

The next chapter will show that persons from one social class have little understanding of the mores and attitudes of other levels. Parents and teachers must be extremely cautious about imposing moral values and judgments on children who were brought up under quite different codes. Adults often label as bad, even as "sin," patterns of behavior which other adults take for granted as reputable. The school and home can aid growth in moral judgment by providing opportunity

⁹⁰ John C. Eberhart, "Attitudes Toward Property: A Genetic Study by the Paired Comparisons Rating of Offenses," *Pedagogical Seminary and Genetic Psychology* (March, 1942), pp. 3-35.

⁹¹ William C. Trow, "Conflicting Codes of Morality In the Life of the Child," *Childhood Education* (Feb., 1942), pp. 256-262.

for making moral decisions. Discussion of moral values is worthless with these children. Adults may also be careful of their own patterns of behavior, since they often act in ways which they would not accept from the children. Children who are treated disrespectfully quite naturally return the attitude and manner. Scolding, rudeness, and unjust accusations are not overlooked by children and affect their own concepts and values.

Isaacs ⁹² reports that much of the distress of the parents of the older children who were brought to her for psychiatric treatment was due to their inability to realize that the child's basis for morality was changing. She recognizes that under the child's alliance with other children he begins to see parents more nearly as they are and that a morality of equals now begins to take the place of a morality based on parent-child relations. She attributes much of the child's aggressiveness to the confidence that group life has given him. He now tries out the results of aggression which he has thus far kept in check through fear of the results of such behavior. Isaacs believes that the child is actually overcoming childhood fantasies about people and that his size and social development have given him this courage. Beverly,⁹³ another children's psychiatrist, supports this view of Isaacs by confirming that discouraged parents and teachers of these preadolescent children should remember that this seemingly "unsocial" behavior really represents emotional growth. It means children have graduated from the stage of growth wherein they were primarily interested in themselves to one in which they become part of the gang and accept the ethics of the group. He states that this important step in socialization is preparatory to the social adjustments which must take place during adolescence.

Zachry's ⁹⁴ observations of preadolescence led her to main-

⁹² Isaacs, *op. cit.*

⁹³ Beverly, *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

tain that the group life of this period was fundamental to sound moral development in that it required these children to reconsider what was good or bad, true or false. Finding that the beliefs of his group are in conflict with those of his home, he questions the value of the wishes of his parents. She believes that it is out of the conflict of feelings within himself that he makes a discovery that is essential to his further growth toward responsible self-reliance. He is learning that there may be more than one code, that more than one set of standards of right and wrong may exist side by side, each supported by persons whom he likes. It is likely that the standards of the group or of adults do not appear as demanding as did those of the adults before his experience with the group. To a greater extent, therefore, he is called upon to exercise choice and judgment. Further, in his dealings with the gang he is learning to "give and take" from his peers, is finding out that behavior is judged by his contemporaries in its bearings upon the good of the group, and is participating in such judgments.

Probably the major reason why adults fail to recognize the foregoing values attributed by psychologists to the gang life at this level is the factor of resistance to adult supervision. In the section of the present chapter which attempted to characterize this group life it was pointed out that one of these characteristics was the resistance to adult supervision.

Indirect supervision can be effective in promoting the desirable growth that is available in the group life of these children. One clue to the problem may be found in the demonstrations of Lewin, Lippitt, and White⁹⁵ which show that differences in aggressive behavior may result from a shift from an autocratic to a democratic pattern of adult authority. It is of particular interest to the present summary to note that these now famous experiments in "social climates" of

⁹⁵ K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1939, pp. 271-299. (Other later studies are also available.)

children's groups were carried on with children of the age range here described as later childhood. The major study was conducted among four clubs of five *ten-year-old* boys each, the purpose being to compare the responses of children to "autocratic," "democratic," and laissez-faire management of these small clubs. These three types of adult direction were used in connection with such activities as mask-making, mural painting, soap carving, and model airplane construction. The "authoritarian" leader was dictatorial; he decided every thing that was to be done, one thing at a time; he was "personal" in his criticisms and praise; he remained aloof, without actively participating in the work of the group except when demonstrating. The "democratic" leader permitted group discussion and group decisions within the broad limits of the experiment, allowed more freedom, participated actively as a regular member, and was "objective" in his praise and criticism. The laissez-faire leader allowed complete freedom, did not participate in the activity or discussion of plans, and made infrequent comments on the activities of the club members. The same leaders variously applied the three types of direction with different groups, so that the factor of the personality of the leader was controlled as far as possible.

It was noted that, as time went on, the children who were treated "autocratically" exhibited considerable more aggressive domination in their relations with one another than did children with whom "democratic" techniques were used. Expressions of hostility, resistance, hostile criticism, and competition were more than twice as frequent in the autocratic group. In the "authoritarian" groups, the relation of the children to the leader tended to be one of submission or of frequent demands for attention. The relations between the children in the "democratic" group were more free, spontaneous, and friendly. The reaction of the groups to autocratic management showed either considerably more aggressiveness or a great deal of apathy. In an apathetic group,

however, it was found that, when the autocratic leader left the room, there was a sharp rise in the amount of aggressiveness shown by the children.

In response to interviews, nineteen of the twenty boys stated they liked the leader in the democratic setting better than the leader in the autocratic setting; the one exception was a boy who liked the leader because he was the strictest. According to their own accounts, in seven cases out of ten, the children preferred the laissez-faire leader to the autocratic leader.

On two occasions, following the deliberate intrusion of an adult who criticized the work of the children, fighting broke out immediately afterward between children who happened to be sharing the same room at the time. Among the factors that appeared to increase the tension in the autocratic groups were the higher frequency of directions given by the leader—which, in effect, put more pressure on the children—restrictions of freedom of movement, and greater rigidity of the group structure. The authors also point out that the response to such tensions and restrictions is likely to be influenced by the background of the children's behavior.

In so far as the foregoing study reveals the reactions of children at this age to the various types of adult supervision, there seems to be some indication that these childhood gangs might respond to the adult leadership which enlists itself with their interests, allows common planning, and is helpful in reaching those goals the children set for themselves.

If the adults in a child's life fail to recognize the value of this break away from them an important opportunity for learning and development will be lost. The child in his attempts to comply with gang standards is taking a step toward self-determination in conduct, since these groups are made up not of those who are much larger and stronger than he but of those who are like him in appearance, capacities, and interests. Thus these standards are more nearly his own than those which he acquired so early that he does not now

remember how they came about, and some of which he now relinquishes for the time being at least. The child is now accepting standards partially, at any rate, supported by reasons valid to him, however worthy or unworthy they may appear to adults. He is beginning to experience the making of rules of behavior in the light of their effect on others and to some extent by mutual decision.

If concepts of desirable behavior are developed in the same way as other concepts, then some modes of adjustment that may be undesirable in an adult are necessary and helpful to the child. As preparation for later development these adjustments are "good" for the child though they may be regarded as "bad" if seen out of their context. The group life of later childhood provides the opportunity for a first step away from the authoritarian concept of right and wrong, however benevolent, and toward a code of honor. This is probably a necessary step toward ethical conduct based upon cause and effect. The "honor" of these gangs may be questionable as far as adult standards are concerned, but it is basically a sound step in the development of ethical standards based on group sanctions.

The preceding paragraphs have brought together studies of the development of moral judgment and have related them to the social status of later childhood. The relationships of children of this age with each other appear to provide an opportunity for them to experience the authority of equals in status. This is thought to be a step in the direction of accepting group sanctions based upon the good of the group. The activities of the gang require the child to exercise choice and judgment and to participate in group decisions. This may be a step toward self-determination in conduct. While there is general agreement that these children in their gang life resent adult supervision, there is some indication that adult supervision is acceptable to them if it enlists itself with their interests, allows common planning, and is helpful in reaching those goals the children set for themselves.

3. Completing sexual identification. In describing the social characteristics of older children one of the major factors was the apparent antagonism and hostility of boys toward girls or vice-versa. To what extent does this reaction serve a desirable purpose in social development, and in what ways can it be minimized without losing any value it may have? An earlier section indicated that there was some physical and developmental basis for this antagonism between sexes because of the earlier maturation of girls. Some of the students of adolescence in discussing the difficulties of the heterosexual adjustment and sexual identification during that period have emphasized the necessity of childhood identification with the appropriate sex rôle. Zachry⁹⁶ proposes that it is through the close companionship with members of their own sex in later childhood that boys and girls increasingly feel themselves to be distinct from each other. Through gang association they develop attitudes and conduct which underscore their differentiation, and through it arises among them a solidarity as members of their own sex. She finds that even those boys and girls who do not have a strong gang attachment and do not feel the solidarity that gang life gives others are apt to cultivate a superficial conformity to the mores of their sex mates, because they fear the scorn of other children. Without gang identification, which is almost synonymous with sex identification at this level, the child may be quite unready to accept the evidence that he is developing toward manhood or womanhood and his anxiety in these matters may be greater than others upon this problem. This group life thus appears to be the first step in the child's associating himself with masculine or feminine concerns.

The Teachers College Collaborators in the research center for child growth and development⁹⁷ included in their report

⁹⁶ Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ American Association of Teachers Colleges, *Child Growth and Development Emphases in Teacher Education*. Prepared by the 1943-44 Teachers College Collaborators in Child Growth and Development (Oneonta, N. Y., American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1944).

statements confirming this necessity for sexual identification during the years of childhood, particularly in the preadolescent years. They describe it as one of the major tasks of this growth period. They conclude that if the child does not develop skill in winning a satisfying rôle among his age mates at this time, he will experience difficulty with the task during the next period of development. Frank's⁹⁸ opinion is that later childhood should be a natural wholesome period of orientation and of emotional adjustment to sex rôles, at a time when sex is not urgent and critical as in adolescence and adult life. He goes on to state that this period (later childhood) is too often a period of anxious uncertainty or embarrassed humiliation.

Each individual's readiness for adolescent adjustments, particularly heterosexual adjustments, depends, according to Blos,⁹⁹ upon the kinds of feelings he has accumulated through the years about his father and mother, his feelings about the "goodness" or "badness" of his own body, the way in which he has explored adult rôles in the fantasy play of early childhood, and the successes or failures he has had in identifying with his own sex play-group in *late childhood*. Although the evidence that has been gathered in the present study indicates that social learning during later childhood seems to disregard the rôle of the other sex, it is probably true that it is through this disregard that identification with the proper sex becomes more pronounced.

The importance of sexual identification seems to be great enough to warrant increased freedom for these children to participate in the age-sex groups that often may appear undesirable from the viewpoint of adults.

Antagonism between sexes may be reduced. Tryon¹⁰⁰ has pointed out that the resentment children exhibit in the

⁹⁸ Lawrence K. Frank, "The Adolescent and his Family," *Adolescence*, Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944).

⁹⁹ Blos, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Tryon, *op. cit.*

years preceding adolescence towards adults as well as between sexes may be a result of the practice of classifying together in our school classrooms boys and girls of very different developmental ages. She believes that in these particular years girls are, on the average, about two years more mature than boys. Bloss¹⁰¹ enlarges on this aspect by saying that in most supervised activities children are usually grouped according to age, but that the social development of boys and girls does not proceed evenly according to age. This fact makes itself painfully evident at the preadolescent level. While boys are still "collecting, constructing, and manipulating," girls are already interested in problems of human relations and in expression through the arts; while boys are still firmly entrenched in their sex-restricted groups, girls have already developed a marked interest in the other sex. He goes on to say that girls, therefore, are inclined to make demands upon boys which they cannot meet adequately and which merely force them into a stronger defensiveness. For this reason girls are likely to encounter defeat in their first heterosexual advances toward boys of their own age group. The fact that boys must compete with girls who are much more mature than they are—and this at a time when their own social capacity is being affected—is likely to result in strains which give rise to the behavior disorders and neurotic manifestations frequent in boys at this age.

Several possibilities suggest themselves on the basis of the foregoing as means of lessening the antagonism between the sexes at this level. One is that there seem to be more basis here than at any other level for classifying boys and girls separately in their school class work. Some of the unfavorable comparisons resulting from differences in developmental status might be eliminated. This, however, would have little meaning unless it also differentiated the interests to be stressed and the activities emphasized. Another possibility is that of avoiding the grouping of boys with girls within a

¹⁰¹ Bloss, *op. cit.*

class group for purposes of learning. Still another possibility is the development and use of several measures of social maturity as a basis of school grouping rather than age or achievement levels. These possibilities all relate to school work because it is believed that it is on the basis of such work that the sexes are most often compared by adults and that school achievement is most often the standard of progress for the child's development. This leads to some consideration of the effects that the highly artificial standards of the school imposed entirely by adults and often in the form of comparative marks, must have on these children who have been described as disregarding adult standards and values. Perhaps much of the antagonism between boys and girls as well as between older children and adults could be lessened with an increasing emphasis upon the child's participation in planning and carrying on the activities of the school.

Antagonism may not be as great as it seems. Throughout the present study the friction between boys and girls at this level has been deliberately labelled "apparent" antagonism because to adults this behavior appears to be antagonistic. A number of psychologists have advanced the opinion that what appears to be antagonism between boys and girls during the preadolescent years might just easily be interpreted as being a means of showing attraction for the opposite sex. Further observation and interpretation of this conduct may show that it is not entirely antagonism between the sexes, but that it may be at times a very strong consciousness of the other sex crudely expressed, perhaps, by such behavior as hair-pulling, teasing, loud protests, and so forth. More study is needed at this point to discover just what the inner feelings of these children are toward each other. Changes in grouping and in demands by parents and teachers might eliminate conditions which cause the "antagonism." Reactions of antagonism and of attraction may actually be present simultaneously.

In summary of the foregoing description of the need and opportunities for sexual identification, it was noted that it is

in these childhood gangs, separated as to sex, that the child probably first identifies himself with his own sex rôle. Within these small gangs the child develops some of those interests, learns some of the activities, and assumes some of the attitudes appropriate in our society for his sex rôle. The normal advanced maturity and interests of girls during these years plus the emphasis the group life of both sexes places upon acceptable activities and attitudes for each sex probably accounts for much of the apparent antagonism between these groups. It has been suggested that what appears to be antagonism may be a crude method of showing a strong consciousness of the opposite sex. To alleviate some of the undesirable aspects of this sex antagonism it has been suggested that these boys and girls be grouped separately in competitive situations. Allowance should be made for their differences in interests and skills. For both groups some provision should be made for these children to participate with adults in planning their own activities and setting up their own standards. As soon as conditions warrant situations should be arranged so that normal social intercourse between boys and girls is possible. Social activities providing for playing and working together are necessary as the period of antagonism is outgrown.

4. *Lessening the strains of adolescence.* Indirectly the discussion of the foregoing opportunities for social development during later childhood are related to the opportunity this level provides for lessening the strains of adolescence. If the individual has made gains in independence without losing the security he needs from understanding adults; if from participation in the childhood gang he has grown in his capacity to judge conduct on the basis of its effect on others; if he has achieved a satisfactory rôle among his age-mates; then his adjustments during adolescence should be less difficult. On the other hand, if his affiliation with the gang has been made at the cost of parental misunderstanding, he may distrust adults in the emotional problems of sexual maturing.

If, due to over-protection, his status with others of the same age and sex is confused, his relations to them and the opposite sex during adolescence may cause undue anxiety.

An opportune period for sex education. There is, however, a further aspect of preparation for adolescent adjustment which has not been made specific. Some students of childhood and adolescence have proposed that later childhood is the most opportune time for sex education. Zachry¹⁰² suggests that it is the most auspicious time for imparting information and vocabulary for discussing human physiology, because during these years boys and girls are more likely to be objective in their interests. She concludes that unless it is given at this time, the task later is largely one of re-education because of misinformation. Learning the facts of sexual life at this period would not have the personal and therefore emotional difficulty that such learning often has during or after puberty. Frank¹⁰³ is in general agreement with this proposal that sex is not as urgent or critical as in adolescence and adult life. He proposes that sex for the child before puberty is never a source for emotional disturbance until an adult makes it so by his or her teaching and emotional reactions to the child's natural interests.

This is not to be interpreted, however, as meaning that the child at this age has no sexual curiosity; but rather that information may better be gained at this level than during adolescence, when personal adjustment has the added difficulty of biological adjustment. Parents do not often recognize or in fact may refuse to recognize and take advantage of this childhood interest in sexual matters. Willoughby¹⁰⁴ has summarized data on sexuality during the second decade of life, quoting from studies made by a large number of investigators. Many of the studies employed questionnaire or inter-

¹⁰² Zachry and Lighty, *op. cit.*

¹⁰³ Frank, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁴ R. R. Willoughby, *Sexuality In the Second Decade*, Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, II, No. 3 (Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1937).

view methods, used with adult subjects, so that much of the material depended upon conscious memories of adults with reference to their sexual experiences during childhood and adolescence. A large proportion of individual's remembered striking impressions about sex received before puberty. The sources of these impressions were varied; information about sex was obtained from reading, from companions outside the home, or from other sources outside the family a little more often than from the parents. From all the data which was reviewed in much detail Willoughby drew the general conclusion that interest and curiosity about sex begins in childhood well before the glandular changes at puberty.

Lowrey ¹⁰⁵ concludes from his study of the sex development of elementary school age children that there is no lack of children's interest in sexual matters during this period. He says that this interest tends to be masked, however, by the greater interest in affairs that involve the child's ego. To some extent he confirms some of the other characteristics of these children when he points out that these youngsters do not ask many questions about sexual matters and do not reveal to adults quite as much of what is going on because by now they have to a very large extent learned just how far they can trust particular adults. He makes the point that if good and confidential relations are maintained, that these children will continue to ask questions about sexual matters.

Redl ¹⁰⁶ has come to the conclusion as a result of his work with children in the years just before adolescence that their sex curiosity is of an entirely different nature from that of the adolescent. He attempted by several means to "enlighten" children of this age in group work and in individual interviews. As a result he believes them to be uninterested in the "shower of physiological information on reproduction" that is often offered them but that they are interested in isolated

¹⁰⁵ Lowrey, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ Redl, "The Technique of Sex Instruction," *Child Study* (Fall, 1944), pp. 9-11.

personal factors that fit their already existing sets of conceptions and misconceptions. Because of this variety of backgrounds and the individual character of questions asked, he concludes that organized teaching does not meet the needs of these youngsters. His experience is that adults usually reject the child's questions because typically they are "dirty." In another article¹⁰⁷ he points out that the preadolescents are interested in information about human sex life "at its worst" and that this interest is a part of the larger picture of adult rejection and preadolescent resistance.

It would seem, therefore, that this period is especially appropriate for helping the individual gain a vocabulary and background of information that will make the tensions of sexual maturing less severe. Curiosity about human sex life is present, probably, before as well as during this period. The emotional attitude attached to such matters depends perhaps upon those adults from whom the child first seeks information. During later childhood the individual's questions may become personal but not necessarily emotional unless adults react emotionally to them.

Summary. Providing opportunities for sound social development. This section has attempted to point out those opportunities that the particular social characteristics of later childhood provide for sound development. The recognition of these opportunities by adults should lead to a kind of guidance that will utilize them in promoting such growth. There are opportunities at this level for the individual to develop his first loyalties outside the home, thereby gaining some independence from parental control. Opportunities are at hand for moral development as the child experiences relations with equals in authority. During these years the child has the opportunity of identifying himself further with his own sex rôle. If these gains are made the individual's conflicts during adolescence may be markedly decreased. These

107 "Preadolescents: What Makes Them Tick?," *loc. cit.*

children have particular needs to be met that are directly related to effective social functioning.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR SECTION C

1. Cite from observation or recollection or from the popular literature incidents or regimes in which adults, whether parents or teachers, made sympathetic and intelligent efforts to aid children in achieving independence.
2. Show how the school's methods of administering pupil personnel, of disciplining children, and of any other aspects of school situations aid or hinder the child in developing his necessary independence. What improvements could be made in the school setup? Take major aspects of this and develop suggestions for each in orderly fashion. This question may be divided among a number of students as desired.
3. What are the chief obstacles to better guidance and help by parents or teachers or by the schools generally for the development of independence in the children?
4. Someone has said one of the tragic characteristics of adults is their moral irresponsibility, their naïve unawareness that they should assume moral responsibility for their acts. Develop a carefully organized argument showing, as far as you can at this stage of the game, that there might be some connection between this situation currently and the difficulties in the way of developing moral judgment in childhood. We cannot now make a conclusive or even adequate statement, but a preliminary inquiry may be very enlightening.
5. Parents and teachers are often disturbed by children's lack of respect for "authority." Adults often say children "must obey," "must do as they are told without argument."
Work out a brief, adequate explanation which might aid adults in developing a better point of view on "authority."
How is respect for authority achieved by an individual? What guidance then for aiding children in this respect?
(This question would lend itself well to a panel discussion as well as to a report.)
6. A class report might be made on the famous study by Lewin, Lippitt, and White on the effect of social patterns and climate on children's conduct.
(This question lends itself admirably well to exposition through socio-drama.)
(The training school attached to a teacher training institution or any public school that wished to experiment on this could set up the conditions as outlined in the article and try this out with the students observing as the project develops.)

7. List the obstacles of various types currently existing which hinder or prevent children from developing their appropriate sex rôles. List at the same time some aids we could give in both school and home.
8. Make a list of suggestions adding to those in the text for reducing sex antagonism.
9. Report, either by individuals or a small committee, on certain courses of study which are developing in many schools for sex education, biology for life, psychology of personal development, etc.
10. The class might view and analyze some of the various films which are now available for teaching sex education.
11. Reports and reviews may be made of any pamphlets or small books available either for teachers of sex education or for the children themselves.
12. This whole topic lends itself admirably to panel discussions.
13. A report should be made of the current periodical literature on this matter of sex education or biology for life.
14. It has been pointed out in Section C that these years of growth provide opportunity for the development of moral judgment. Attempt to visualize and be ready to share with other members of the group, actual situations and experiences which might be used in school to give these youngsters the opportunity to make group decisions that would involve moral judgment. Compile a list of situations in which it might be safe to allow nine-ten-and eleven year olds to learn good judgment by experience. How could a teacher go about helping children of this age to be tolerant of those children who are different?
15. The Boy Scouts of America, through their Cub Scout program, are attempting to provide organized activity for boys nine, ten, and eleven. Until very recently, boys did not become Scouts until they were twelve. The handbooks that the Boy Scout organization have prepared for Cub Scouts are very interesting in that they recognize some of the basic social and personal characteristics of preadolescent boys. A small committee might examine these handbooks and the accompanying manuals for Cub Scouts and report to the class the characteristics that this organization has recognized and the recommended program which takes advantage of these characteristics. It would seem particularly profitable to note the size of groups, the kind of supervision, the major activities, and the details of the "secretive" aspect of the program.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviews may be made of the Association of Teachers Colleges publication, "Child Growth and Development Emphases in Teacher Education"; the books by Beverly, Bloss, Brown, Lerner and Murphy, or any similar ones.

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3

The Preadolescent Is Subjected to Strong Cultural Impositions

An adequate understanding of later childhood is aided by knowledge about the age groups just above and just below. Considerable evidence has accumulated which attempts to explain the causes of behavior peculiar to these groups. Explanations are dependent, to some degree, upon the individual's needs or physical changes. The physical changes of later childhood have none of the dramatic elements that are associated with infancy, early childhood, or adolescence. Studies of this older group seldom account for behavior on the basis of physical needs. The major exception is the "need for vigorous physical activity." The characteristics that differentiate later childhood from earlier and from succeeding periods are primarily social characteristics as described in the preceding chapter. The related physical and intellectual development will be presented in following chapters. The materials commonly available which describe and differentiate this particular level have not adequately explained the basis for conduct peculiar to the period or to the unique relationships of the period. They have attempted to show that such behavior exists, something of its purpose, and something of its inherent dangers as far as personality development is concerned, but very little of its basic causes.

A clearer understanding of the causes for typical behavior among our preadolescent children will be gained if we examine this level of development among different peoples.

Do children in other cultures exhibit a similar period of social "regression" during later childhood? If they do, are there similar factors in the societies in question which might explain this? If they do not, what are some of the factors in our society which may bear on this?

SECTION A

THE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS BELIEVE THIS CYCLE OF DEVELOPMENT TO BE CULTURALLY IMPOSED

The social anthropologists, in their study of other cultures and in comparing them with our own, have pointed out the extent to which the behavior commonly associated with the recognized cycles of development is culturally imposed. To what extent are the attitudes, behavior and group life of later childhood culturally imposed?

A generation ago psychologists might have attempted to explain group life in terms of a hypothetical "gregarious instinct." Careful psychological research has demonstrated that in human beings there are no complicated unlearned patterns of behavior. If group life is learned and not instinctive, then it is necessary to turn for an explanation to the study of conditions under which this behavior is learned and the emphasis shifts from the psychological study of the individual child to the more sociological study of the surrounding social conditions. A primary contribution in this connection has been made by the anthropologists. They have found that human association can take a wide variety of forms and that these forms cannot be explained in terms of the individual alone. Rather they must be explained in terms of what the anthropologist calls *culture*.

It takes little imagination to see the bearings of this on the present problem of group formation and behavior in later childhood. The inner psychological characteristics and physi-

cal characteristics of the individual may explain his capacity for group life. The particular forms this group life takes are learned; they are part of the cultural heritage which the child receives from the society in which he lives.

1. *This age group in other cultures.* A review of the simpler and differing cultures may reveal an understanding of cultural impositions and their effect on the growing child. No attempt is made here to summarize the large amount of material available but rather to select from it certain instances that show differences in the training and responsibilities of this particular age group.

The most pertinent anthropological evidence for this purpose comes from the work of Margaret Mead¹ whose primary objective in much of her field work was to describe and compare adolescent behavior among various cultures. In doing so a description and comparison of childhood experiences was also necessary. She has recorded several patterns of behavior during the years immediately preceding adolescence. Some of these are similar to the pattern of behavior found in later childhood in our own society, some show important differences. The Samoan child shows no period of rebelliousness in growing up. From the ages of four or five these children are given tasks of assisting adults in their activities. There is no long period of irresponsibility such as is known in our present day culture. Their socialization comes through association in age groups because of the loose ties they have with their parents. Boys' and girls' play groups are entirely segregated; sex differentiation comes as a result of the differences in tasks assigned boys and girls. Up to puberty the only relations between boys and girls are in their gang antagonisms. These children are never called upon to make choices that conflicted with group or parental choices. Submission to or defiance of the parent does not become a dominating

¹ Margaret Mead, *From the South Seas*, containing "Coming of Age in Samoa," "Growing Up in New Guinea," and "Sex and Temperament" (New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc. Copyright 1928, 1930, 1935, 1939 by Margaret Mead).

pattern of life. From early childhood the Samoan has association with and access to the facts of sex, birth, and death.

Mead,² in her various studies of other cultures, shows that the Manus have no period of rebellion against adult authority. Among them the age-group is not distinct as in Samoa or in our own culture. Various ages and both sexes play together and are dominated by older selfish bullies. The whole period of childhood is highly unrestrained; respect for age or knowledge is not taught; children are expected to be kind or courteous to their elders; they are not taught to work. "They develop from overbearing, undisciplined children into quarrelsome, overbearing adults" as a result of these "years of non-cultural participation." Mead compares these two cultures and our own in these terms:

We have the disadvantage of both the Samoan and Manus systems of education and we have the advantages of neither one. In Samoa the older child owes no emotional allegiance to its father and mother. These personalities are merged in a large household group of fostering adults. The child, unfettered by emotional ties, finds sufficient satisfaction in the mild warmth which is the emotional tone of the age group. So the Samoan child suffers neither the reward nor the penalty of intimate family life. Manus children, on the other hand, are bound so closely by family ties that outside adjustments are not expected of them and may well be impossible to them. But in return the boy child receives the best that such a close association has to offer—a living sense of his father's personality.

From her observation of Bali culture, in which she also gives special attention to the adolescent period, Margaret Mead found no evidence of regressive behavior during the years just preceding puberty. The smooth relationship in accepting the authority of adults in the Bali culture is almost the opposite of the relationship Kaffir children have with adult superiors. The Kaffirs give their children unpleasant jobs and lies about the facts of life, and the children retaliate during preadolescence by developing a small outlaw state with a secret language and spy system of their own.

² Margaret Mead, "The Primitive Child," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1933).

It would not be difficult to multiply instances of the differences in the social attitudes and behavior of children in various cultures, but the general principles must be already clear. Such attitudes and behavior are determined only in a minor degree by the whim of the individual or to physiological capacity. To a much greater degree they are imposed upon him by his culture. In a summary³ of the treatment of children in contrasting cultures it is pointed out that age groups may or may not form during the preadolescent period or at adolescence, depending upon (1) the length of the dependency period, (2) the amount of responsibility given children, and (3) the rôle of the father in child training. In reference to the specific problems of later childhood Mead⁴ says,

Now it is a recognized feature in our society that children soon after starting to school begin to substitute the standards of other children for the standards set by their parents. This tendency becomes steadily aggravated until at adolescence it often results in a crisis in parent-child relations. Although this substitution of age-group standards for home standards is often regarded as a phenomenon rooted so deeply in the psychology of maturation as to be inevitable, cross cultural investigations show that this is not so. (p. 103)

2. The general cultural impositions which affect behavior in our society. In addition to pointing out that the culture of other societies determines the behavior and group life of childhood, anthropologists also emphasize the extent to which our own cultural impositions affect children. In what ways are the reactions of the preadolescent determined by the social situation in which he finds himself?

Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb⁵ have developed the idea that to be at a given age-level is to be in a certain sort of social situation. What is really a product of the stimulus situation must not be uncritically ascribed to the physiologi-

³ Mead, "The Primitive Child," *op. cit.*

⁴ Mead, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1940, pp. 92-109.

⁵ Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1937), pp. 325-327.

cal growth curve. In pointing out the successive situations in which children find themselves at different ages, they recognize the unique demands made upon later childhood. Several characteristics of the changing world the children find at different ages are suggested. For example, the child confronts the following sequence of attitudes *toward himself as a person as he grows up in a modern community*.

1. Adoration, admiration as a baby to the age of approximately two years.
2. Prohibitions, irritation, restraint, physical punishment as he begins to "get in the way" to the age of five or six.
3. Mothering, entertainment from the kindergarten and primary teachers, to the age of nine.
4. Scolding from the principal for cutting up in school, rebukes from policemen for hitching on to cars, sneaking rides in subways (*from nine till puberty*).
5. Ridicule as an awkward adolescent.
6. Last-minute gestures toward control from parents, teachers, and police as in later adolescence he begins to drive a car and lead his own life.
7. Pride of home and school when he gets on the college football team.

Another interesting sequence, for the purposes of this study, is the series of demands from the group on the boy at different periods.

1. He is expected to be cute and beautiful, the idol of the family from birth to two or three.
2. He is expected to keep out from underfoot and give the adults the chance to take care of the new baby (from two until six in most families).
3. He is expected to sit still in school and learn to read and do numbers (beginning elementary school).
4. *By his own age-group he is expected to prove that he is male and is independent of grown-ups* (later elementary school).
5. The girls expect him to learn to dance and look nice and drive a car (early adolescence).
6. The school expects him to throw all his energy into winning for the ——— high school.
7. Items 7 and 8 carry him into mature group reactions.

These authors would prefer to think of the actual behavior which appears at any age level as an intersection of the needs of the child and of his biological capacity to meet the demands of, or opportunities in, the situation; consequently, many stages are less a matter of behavior which is inevitable in the course of development, than the result of the stimulus of the specific situation. They point out that by nine or ten years, according to teachers, more organized groups begin and loyalty to the group and the authority of its rule develops. There is more bickering and unwillingness to accept rules than is to be found among teen-age children. This is in agreement with findings presented earlier in the current study. What are some of the factors anthropologists have noted in comparing our culture with others that aid in an understanding of this preadolescent behavior?

Long period of dependence. Probably the most obvious factor is the length of our socialization period and its dependence upon artificial rewards for psychological reinforcement. Benedict⁶ states that the chief difference between education in primitive societies and in our present culture is that the primitive child does not picture his life as a long preliminary to real rewards in adult life. In many primitive societies the same kind of behavior and activities are demanded of both child and adult. In these societies we do not find the conflicts in childhood that are so common in our society.

In any society where a child imputes to adults satisfactions which he more or less explicitly envies, and in which at the same time he has no opportunity to participate, major satisfactions may be said to be deferred. We must recognize in the conflicts of children in our culture the bafflement and loss of drive that often occur when they are separated by such a strong barrier from serious concerns going on about them. (123)

⁶ Ruth Benedict, "The Educative Process—A Comparative Note," *Mental Health in the Classroom*, Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction (Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1940), p. 123.

She goes on to explain how necessary it is that children seek some immediate satisfactions in their relationships with each other.

These factors seem to have a special application to the development during later childhood. At this period the child's social rewards are still those of a "baby"; at least in his own eyes every action is dependent upon adult approval and adult approval has not been accompanied by any increased freedom or privileges. Constitutionally these children are capable of greater responsibility and freedom. In an earlier era in our own society, these children could begin work outside the home as well as carry many responsibilities in the home. The period of protection by adults and dependence upon adults is probably longer in our present western civilization than at any time in history and is much longer than that found in other societies. It is not surprising, therefore, that a pattern of very early resistance is to be found to adult standards.

The infantile fixations in our culture, the frequent inability to act as an adult in our competitive society, are understandable when we consider the right-about-face expected of the individual when he passes from the stage in which obedience and submissiveness and dependence are his only virtues to the stage in which initiative and authority and self-reliance are his passports to the respect of his fellows.

Control by women during these years. Another factor that the anthropologist would point out as a possible cause for the pattern of resistance found in later childhood is the effect of strong maternal influence and the difficulty on the part of boys in making adequate identification with the male rôle. Mead⁷ has stated this problem as follows:

We muffle him in feminine affection, and present his father to him as an animated whip to enforce his mother's rôle of affectionate ruler. All through his impressionable years he associates with women whom he can not take as models, interesting and admirable as often they are. This being so, without being able to identify with the only adults he knows, denied the stimulating companionship with men, he falls back

⁷ Mead. *From the South Seas*, p. 237.

on the age-group, that standardizing leveling influence in which all personality is subordinated to a group type.

Elkin⁸ has brought together some very interesting data showing that when the normal social controls are released, mature male members of our society (soldiers, during the past war) very often regress to preadolescent forms of behavior.

A peculiar feature of American culture is that the ideal of virility is derived from the values that often prevail in *preadolescent* gangs or play groups e.g., lower class toughness as against upper class "sissy" effeteness; defensive irritability rather than self-assurance; aggressiveness rather than reserve; self-assertiveness rather than modesty; and impudence rather than politeness. These values reflect a characteristic source of anxiety in the lives of young American boys. Whereas their development in home and school is to a far greater degree molded by women, and is far less distinct from that of young girls, than in any other country (coeducation and women teachers are nowhere as predominant as in America), they must try to live up to social expectations which, far more than those found elsewhere, require that (as "red-blooded American boys") they behave differently from girls. Hence, they are impelled to adopt an image of manhood which like all other compensations for inadequacy, exaggerates and distorts the dominant, aggressive quality that is a natural sign of virility. And, in reaction to the "sissy" qualities which they seek to eradicate or conceal in themselves, they throw over everything associated with femininity, especially the values which create disinterested activities and those which lend considerateness and grace to social intercourse. The cultural pattern associated with the ideal of virility is modified when social expectations and the conditioning of erotic tendencies require a positive attitude toward women; but, whatever the course of its later development, this pattern remains deeply rooted in the psychological conditions of preadolescence.

Cottrell,⁹ in discussing the status of research concerning individual adjustment to age and sex rôles, states that there is sufficient evidence to propose the hypothesis that the degree of adjustment to a future rôle varies directly with the amount of opportunities for: (1) emotionally intimate contact which allows identification with persons functioning

⁸ Henry Elkin, "Aggressive and Erotic Tendencies in Army Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, pp. 408-413.

⁹ Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Rôles," *American Sociological Review*, 1942, pp. 617-620.

in that rôle; (2) imaginal or incipient rehearsal in the future rôle; and (3) practice in the rôle through play or other similar activity. Preadolescent boys in our culture are deprived of all these opportunities for adjustment to their sex rôles except in so far as their group or gang life provides for imaginal and play activities in which an attempt is made to express masculinity.

The so-called unsocial behavior, particularly in boys, and the apparent antagonism between them and the girls of the same age becomes, therefore, more understandable when viewed from the standpoint of cultural imposition. In our society, close contact of boys with men is often denied both at home and at school until adolescence, resulting in a gang life that affords masculine identification. This identification has serious inadequacies and, as previously cited, has a lasting effect on masculine personality.

Variety of social patterns. A third factor that anthropological analysis of our cultural impositions brings out in relation to the unique social life and behavior of later childhood is the fact that in our society there are a variety of patterns of conduct observable to the maturing individual. Mead¹⁰ has found that there is no rebellion against adult patterns either by individuals or groups in those cultures where there is only one pattern of behavior. Submission to or defiance of the parent does not become a dominating pattern of life in Samoa. Among the Manus the accepted pattern is defiance. The Kaffirs expect open hostility. In all these societies, as well as in other similarly simple ones, the child grows up in the one pattern offered him. Mead believes that the confusion among the children and youth in our society is due to the variety of patterns of conduct which surround them. In simpler societies the growing child receives no support from outsiders in rebelling against adult authority, because they all do the same things. Childhood gangs need not form to provide resistance to the cultural pattern.

¹⁰ *From the South Seas.*

The anthropologist points out that there are two chief sources for this variety in cultural patterns. One of these is the presence of a number of nationalities in some communities, each having its own peculiarities in child training and parental relationships. The second which is more subtle and has had little recognition is the difference to be found in the social goals and the socializing process among the various social classes in our culture. The implications of this second factor are of such significance to the particular stage of development with which this study is concerned that it is treated separately in Section B.

Summary for Section A. Social anthropological study showing this cycle of development as culturally imposed. Anthropological research has emphasized the extent to which the behavior of individuals and of groups is dependent upon the culture in which an individual matures. A study of simpler and differing cultures reveals the effect of cultural impositions upon the growing child. It has been shown that the training and responsibilities during later childhood in other cultures produce patterns of behavior that are traceable directly to that training and responsibility rather than physical maturation or inherent psychological development.

In comparing the cultural impositions in our own society with those of other societies, this research has pointed out certain aspects of our own socialization process which can be interpreted with specific meaning for the preadolescent child. (1) The length of our socialization period appears to inflict a peculiar stress upon later childhood by its postponement of immediate satisfactions and by continued physical restrictions. (2) Strong maternal influence in the home plus the predominance of women in organized educational enterprises makes masculine identification difficult for boys. Their seeking such identification through strong gang loyalties may account for some of the resistance this age shows to adult standards. (3) The presence of many cultural patterns in our society may account for the confusion among children as to

acceptable standards as well as providing support for gang formation to resist parental or class standards.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR SECTION A

1. Supplement the brief references to childhood in Samoa, New Guinea, Bali and other places with accounts available in the literature. A number of studies have now been made of childhood among the American Indian tribes. These would be good supplementations.

2. Can you cite any evidence that the long period of dependence in our society is quite necessary for some phases of personal development? Susceptible to reduction for some others? If the long period of dependence is in fact necessary for most aspects of development, how may we compensate for the obvious ill effects on children? If it is not necessary for all phases, how may we introduce the child to adult life earlier and with safety? (This somewhat involved question has far reaching implications for education and child rearing.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Review such books as:

Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* and books by Mead, Bossard, Kluckhohn & Murray.

Report on current magazine articles dealing with the materials in this section.

The type of study made of primitive societies and reported in this chapter has been severely criticised by a number of recent articles by radical anthropologists. Secure a number of these and report for class analysis.

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SECTION B

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE REINFORCES THE GENERAL IMPOSITIONS AND PARTICULARLY THE ATTITUDES OF ADULTS

1. The general nature of the social class structure. During the past fifteen years sociologists have been studying intensively several American communities. *Yankee City*, a study by Warner and Lunt,¹¹ is obviously in New England; *Deep South* by Davis, Gardner, and Gardner,¹² deals with

¹¹ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community*, Vols. I and II, Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

¹² Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941).

southern states; and *Hometown* by Warner, Havighurst and Loeb¹³ is in the Middle West. Many others are available as listed in the bibliography.

These investigators have begun to reveal an accurate picture of the social class system of American communities. Their results are of interest to educators who are seeking a more adequate understanding of the environment and its relation to human learning. The social class theory proposed and supported has implications for the socialization and formal education of all youth, but interpretations will be made in the following pages that seemingly offer assistance in understanding those aspects of socialization peculiar to later childhood. First it seems necessary to sketch hastily this theory of social class structure.

The investigators of the social life of Yankee City assumed at the beginning of their study that the economic order was of the greatest importance in the lives of the people. This hypothesis was soon dropped because of the force of the collected evidence. A social-class hypothesis was substituted. The members of this community were greatly influenced by a social-class order in which they looked upon people as being higher or lower on the rungs of a social ladder. The evidence from the other communities studied also supported this view. By the use of the test of participation, that is, determining who goes around with whom, and by the study of those who possess the highly evaluated characteristics, in terms of acceptance, type of house, education, and a large number of other symbols, they were able to place the people in three social strata. Each of these strata, Upper, Middle, and Lower Class, had two divisions, and thus there were six classes which, they believed, existed in the social hierarchy in Yankee City. A short description of each of these groups is provided by the authors.

¹³ M. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Marton B. Loeb, *Who Shall be Educated?* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1944). Contains reference to *Hometown* and other similar investigations.

A casual analysis of the interview material from which these sketches have been drawn clearly indicates that there is a recognized rank order where people are striving for social recognition. Their values differ in the several strata and within the same social levels. Certain simple generalizations are possible, however, which tell us something of how these people evaluate themselves and others in the world around them. It is clear that the upper-Upper class believes in the efficacy of birth and breeding, and the individuals in that class possess each in varying degrees and with proportionate feelings of security. Money is important, but its chief importance is to allow one to live properly.

The lower-Upper class also believes in birth and breeding. They cannot use their money to buy birth, but they can spend it to acquire the proper Upper class secular rituals which they hope will secure them the high rank they seek. Money is very important to them but they are willing to spend large portions of it to secure proper recognition for themselves or their children and to marry their children into the class above them.

The upper-Middle class believes in money, but many of them also believe in what they call comfort. Some of them know that money is not enough to be at the top. Nevertheless, most try to get more money to gain higher status. More money is always important. Many of them want money for its own sake and because its mere accumulation has value.

The lower-Middle class also wants more money and more comfort. They believe that money and morals are the keys to all of their problems. They are more secure, however, than the two lower classes, and most of them have greater psychological security than the people of the upper-Middle class.

The individuals in the upper-Lower class tend to be ambitious. They want money, but they are trying to acquire the symbols of higher status such as "nice furniture," "pretty yards," and "a good education." Such things differentiate them from the class below and make them more like the people just above them. They are much nearer the bare struggle for existence than the lower-Middle class, but they utilize their money for neat looking clothes, good magazines, and to "give our children a better education than we had."

The lower-Lower class cares little for education. Money is important because it shuts the door on the ever present wolf of want, but it is not of such importance that a parent would force his children to go to school that they might acquire an education in order to get a better job. Money is to be spent not saved.

These oversimplified summaries are manifestly inadequate. Our social structure is too complex to be described in such simple generalities. Too many people in each of the several classes do not fit into these categories. (p. 199)

The authors of these studies, as well as those who have used their data in other relationships, repeatedly emphasize that "class" as they use it is not a Marxian idea. Strictly defined, it refers to higher and lower social orders within a group where the highly and lowly evaluated symbols are unequally distributed. It also means that marriage ordinarily occurs between persons of the same social level. Above all, it means that an individual can rise or fall, that is to say, be socially mobile, in the social hierarchy.

While intensive studies have been made in only a few widely separated places the investigators, Warner and others, find considerable support for the conclusion that this social class system holds for the entire country with the following modifications: the younger the community the less marked are the distinctions between social classes and the greater is opportunity for mobility; the larger cities are not as clearly differentiated in class structure as are the smaller cities.

2. The general effects of social class structure on child growth and on schooling. A given culture, each class and caste within a culture imposes a number of understandings, attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior upon children. Children learn thus what is considered good, what bad, what desirable, what undesirable, in the particular social group within which they are growing up. The particular segment of the culture will determine in part what children learn to value, to enjoy, to neglect, to scorn, to work for. All this affects children's motives, actions, and long time goals. The effects of this on child rearing and upon school room procedure are profound, though often subtle and hidden.

The culture imposes also a set of basic social habits which control everyday life activities. (See Exercises 2, 3, 4, at end of Section.) Certain general rôles are also expected eventually of all children. *First*, the sex rôle, that is, being and acting like a boy or girl. "Don't be a sissy." "Don't be a tomboy." *Second*, an age level rôle. "Be your age." "Quit acting like a baby." "You are old enough to know better." The boy may

be confused by seemingly opposite emphases, "don't get too big for your britches." Obedience to older persons is imposed on the children, with repression of natural impulses and actions. *Third*, the social class of the family demands that children speak, act, and manifest the "manners" of their class. The children of "lower" classes must be avoided. *Fourth*, a caste rôle is often imposed which may cut across the class levels. Race, color, or creed may be the basis of division here.

The social classes differ materially, as can be gathered from the foregoing paragraphs, in approving or stigmatizing certain beliefs, values, and behaviors. The middle and upper classes particularly stigmatize, in the lower classes, what the upper classes call; laziness, shiftlessness, irresponsibility, ignorance, immorality. Within the lower classes, however, some of these items are accepted ways of behavior, possessing background and rationale. The lower classes are likely to resent in the upper classes what lower class individuals call "snootiness" or snobbery, good manners, proper language, lack of aggressiveness, or unwillingness to fight.

Children in the middle class largely, resist strongly the class values and habits imposed upon them. Children in the lower classes quite generally accept their class values and behaviors. The reasons for this and its real significance for understanding children will be developed a few paragraphs further on.

The efforts of parents and teachers to socialize children precipitate constant conflict between the psychological drives of the children on the one hand, and the pressures of the culture on the other. The child's need for physical activity, for sensory enjoyment, for self-direction, and prestige with age-mates fights hard against restraints, controls, demands for conformance.

Many of the conflicts between parents and children, teachers and children result from grave lack of insight into the nature and effects of constant pressure, open or subtle, to

conform to social values and rôles. Parents and teachers regard the procedures they use in socializing children as natural and desirable. *The adults* are often not even aware that there is any pressure. *The children* are keenly aware of it. The emotional cost to both may be very high. Parents are irritated and angry. Children become destructive, antagonistic, or sullen, or retreat into periods of negativism. These are defenses against the constant "cultural bombardment." The more social the requirement, the more arbitrary and unjust it seems to be to the "natural" child.

The schoolroom brings all this into sharp focus, with serious difficulties resulting. The school in general attempts to impose middle class values upon huge numbers of lower class children. Worse, the school is not set up to realize the non-verbal types of intelligence often found among children who have not had access to or constant contacts with books. Problems set by the school are, therefore, not the same problems at all when tackled simultaneously by upper and lower class children. The motivations are not at all alike. Many lower class children simply do not value the objectives and processes of the school, hence do not try. The school immediately dubs them "unintelligent," "uncoöperative," or "stubborn." The old class clichés may enter again, these children are lazy, shiftless, irresponsible. The facts often are that the school simply does not meet their needs or ambitions, does not operate within their framework of motivations and values. The specific results of this will be summarized briefly shortly.

Difficulties of child rearing and of schooling might be alleviated. The detailed implications of the psychology of the preadolescent for socialization and education cannot be developed in this volume except in summaries. We may digress for a paragraph or two here, however, because of the grave importance of the immediate discussion. The method of cultural training has basic effects upon children's acceptance *inwardly* of the cultural objectives. This is basically different

from outward conformance. The effects upon morality, mental hygiene, and personality generally, are far too important to be neglected.

Ample evidence is available in general psychology and in clinical analyses to indicate that arranging the situation in home and school so that the child can identify himself with the total social group including adults may be far more effective than imposition and pressure. Sharing and participating in the common life, aiding in making decisions for the total group, in contrast to having decisions arbitrarily made for him, might alleviate many of the conflicts. The child thus feels secure and respected, will receive guidance from adults, thus getting experience in considering evidence and making decisions. Full membership in the social groups of which he actually is a part, though often denied participation, might reduce the cleavage between the adult society and the peer culture of the teen agers.

3. *The specific effects of social class structure on growth and schooling.* Two particular studies may be noted which have brought together the application of research findings on social class to child training and schooling. Davis & Dollard¹⁴ studied the life histories of over one hundred Negro children in the South, seeking answers to these questions: (a) What do his parents want to teach him? (b) What methods do they use to teach him? (c) What do they actually succeed in teaching him? The answers derived varied, as with white populations, depending upon the social class of the child's family.

Warner¹⁵ and others have collected from the various investigations the findings which are most applicable to education. The evidence supports the hypothesis that social class is a significant determinant of personality in our culture. The school, it is shown, often actually interferes with social

¹⁴ Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1940).

¹⁵ Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, *op. cit.*

mobility because of its middle class teachers and standards. The school may serve as a sorting or selecting agency affecting the efforts of individuals to move upward in the social structure. Here we have a startling denial of the American dream that education is a factor in "bettering one's self." The school possessed of greater knowledge, insight, and sympathy can be the road to improvement for all.

The studies show that the general effect of social class status is, with one or two notable exceptions, similar for Negro and white populations. The lower class on the one hand, differs markedly from middle and upper classes on the other hand, with respect to certain behaviors such as aggression, sexual expression, and school learning. The methods of training or of permission, the end results, the very aims of the training differ. This is particularly true in the years following infancy. The lower class Negro children meet, in the very earliest years the same set of standards regarding feeding, elimination, and masturbation as do the upper class children. The children vary as much in one class as in another in the amount of emotional strain, and kinds of emotional patterning derived from this training.

Lower class parents punish their children frequently and severely, and provide them with few rewards. Middle and upper class parents use physical punishment much less frequently but reward their children either materially or through status. Lower class parents cannot afford either type of reward.

One contrast will highlight the significant differences between the classes. Middle and upper class parents are quite shocked at the severity of punishment, the thrashings and beatings meted out to lower class children. Lower class parents are equally astounded at a middle class punishment—which is possibly not so widespread nowadays but which is still common—namely, sending the child to bed without his supper, or denying him the tasty dessert. Food is too

important with the lower classes, deprivation too serious a matter, to be thus used.

Punishment does not seem to force the lower class child into better behavior, does not move him toward middle class patterns of respectability. Evidence available again indicates that the methods of participation and coöperation, with accompanying security for the child may be more effective.

The lower class child learns in the very early grades that it is not only his parents and their friends who do not expect him to "go far" in school. His teacher shares the same belief. She brings to the classroom her middle class standards and procedures. Children in school are drawn from the social classes in approximately these percentages; three per cent from the upper class, thirty-eight from the middle, and fifty-eight from the lower class. The teaching body, in contrast, is drawn almost entirely from the middle class. Many teachers simply cannot communicate with lower class children. The teachers do not know that many children have never sat down to a meal. One child staying for a period in a good home said, "Do you always eat like in the movies?" Asked to explain she said, "Well, you always set the table and sit down together to eat." The teachers do not know what it means always to wear hand-me-downs, always to have to fight for what one wants or needs. The children are affected basically by these conditions. The children are quite unaware that many words and language forms used by them every day are quite unacceptable in a different social strata. The teacher's reproof and obvious displeasure over the ordinary language of these children merely antagonizes. Consciously or unconsciously the teacher denies the lower class children the satisfactions necessary for their wholehearted participation. The basic motivation of parents and teachers in the upper-lower and the lower-middle classes is the desire for upward mobility. These groups believe education is one chief means of improving status. They, therefore support

the school and its program, and in so doing impose their values, goals, and habits on the larger group within the school, the lower class children.

The middle class school regime does not socialize the lower class children. Evidence was submitted earlier to show that many children at about nine years of age begin to show hostility toward adult standards of cleanliness, orderliness, promptness, and other widely accepted social habits as well as to show some physical symptoms of regressive behavior. Davis suggests that children from the lower class families remain "unsocialized" and "unmotivated" from the viewpoint of the middle class culture because (a) they are humiliated and punished too severely in school for having the lower class culture which their own mothers and fathers and siblings approve, and (b) because the most powerful reinforcements in learning, viz., those of emotional and social rewards, are systematically denied to the lower class child by the systems of privilege existing in the school and in larger society. In other words, children from the lower classes may have shown some early conformity to the school and social demands, but during the years of later childhood they come to realize that being "good" is not going to "pay off" at school, at home, or in the community. This may possibly account for the failure of the children of the lowest classes to accept middle and upper class standards of conduct.

Deferred rewards create tensions for middle and upper class children. The studies and observations made do not limit this "hostility toward adult standards" to a lower class or a low socio-economic group. In fact a study by Long¹⁶ of parent reports of undesirable behavior showed that children from eight through eleven tended to be irritable, willful, easily discouraged, and to have many fears. Within the population represented by this group very few differences of behavior tendencies could be associated with factors other than

¹⁶ Alma Long, "Parents' Reports of Undesirable Behavior," *Child Development*, 1941, pp. 43-62.

age; there was no relation to the education of parents, or to the socio-economic pattern, or to other behavior tendencies.

Is it not possible that the culturally desirable behavior of the middle and upper class child "breaks down" during these years because of the remoteness of the rewards for such behavior and as a release for some of the anxiety resulting from fear or failure to achieve the symbols of status his family regards so highly? The learning of the complex social habits always takes place under certain emotionally toned conditions. In general we learn to avoid or inhibit that which produces pain or unpleasantness and to follow that course which brings satisfaction, pleasure, or, at worst, the least unpleasantness. Davis and Dollard¹⁷ stress this point and also show as a result of their study that "as the child grows older the effective learning rewards are those of status, those associated with middle and upper class privileges and dominance." In the class setting the reinforcements to learning are of long range and the learning drive is intense anxiety. It is also pointed out that considerable anxiety is built up in the middle and upper class child due to constant restraint of aggressive and sexual behavior. These children are actually undergoing "a long period of renunciation which middle class socialization demands" without any immediate rewards. Physically, they are capable of much more freedom than they are given; intellectually, they are seeking reality. These factors make it easier to understand why these children reject some of the standards of adults and choose to imitate the behavior of some of their fellows who do not have these restraints or anxieties. There is, at least, some clue here to this particular reaction of most preadolescents.

School achievement affected by class origins of children. As a part of this apparent reaction to adult standards, it may be profitable to consider the relation of this social class picture to the actual work of the school during these years of childhood, normally the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

¹⁷ Davis and Dollard, *op. cit.*

The rewards for school work become increasingly those of status as the child moves from the primary grades into the intermediate grades, especially in the typical school where physical restraint and academic pursuits are stressed. In these grades the great bulk of remedial problems in reading and the other intellectual skills appear. Some of the reactions of these children to the work of the school is explainable on the basis of the hypothesis presented in the preceding paragraph. Habits of speech, reading, recreation, and attitudes toward the arts are not successfully taught the lower classes in school because these habits and attitudes have no value in the family, clique, or associations of the lower class family. Miller and Dollard¹⁸ approached this problem in this way:

Part of the seemingly mental inferiority of lower class children at school may be traced to lack of reward. In the first place, teachers are not so likely to pay attention to them, praise them, and confer little signs of status, such as special tasks, as they are to reward middle class children in these ways. In the second place, these children never have experienced, or seen close at hand in the lives of relatives, those advantages of better jobs which are the rewards for educational merit, and they consequently see less promise of attaining such positions. The teacher is less likely to reward them, and their training has invested the types of event which the teacher controls with less acquired reward value.

In the middle class family and environment the teachers meet support for their methods and goals in child training. It can be seen then that the school and its program may mean very different things to the child, depending upon the values his social class places on education. Some children must adjust to groups whose standards of behavior and social controls are different and often contradictory; other children live in a world where all groups have the same code and pattern of conduct. During later childhood many lower class pupils become retarded or often drop out of school because of this conflict; middle class pupils exhibit some resistance

¹⁸ Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941), p. 33.

to these adult values and often seek other values from their small groups of age-sex mates.

The intelligence quotient and social class origins of children. The I.Q. score is so widely used in so many ways within the school, and so widely affects popular thinking that we digress for a brief summary here.

Three statements in this chapter may be recalled for emphasis and to set the stage.

The school is not set up to capitalize upon the non-verbal types of intelligence often found among children who have not had access to or constant contacts with books. (Page 120).

The lower class child learns in the very early grades that it is not only his parents and their friends who do not expect him to "go far" in school. His teacher shares the same belief. (Page 123).

Bright children showed no unique or fixed personality pattern which differentiated them from the less bright (in the age-sex groups or gangs which do not follow class lines). (Page 66).

The early days of the intelligence testing movement produced a number of generalizations which we have had difficulty living down. The most important one for the current discussion is to the effect that high intelligence is correlated with high socio-economic status. Intelligence was said not to be found widely among children of the "lower classes." Voices raised against these and other superficial clichés were feeble and unheeded at first. Today we have ample evidence that intelligence tests are heavily weighted toward facility in verbal abilities, arithmetic skills, and handling of abstractions. The tests reflect the narrow verbal nature of typical schooling. The tests do measure capacity to do school work as at present organized. They do not measure a wide range of intellectual skills which are of vital importance in real life problem-solving, but which are not called for by the present verbalized educational process. The tests do not touch at all upon other aspects of intelligence which involve judgment and insight in social situations, in dealing with persons, inventiveness in mechanical matters. Creative in-

telligence of all kinds is ignored by typical intelligence tests.¹⁹

Evidence currently appearing indicates that, as hinted in the earlier studies, the tests are also strongly weighted in favor of upper class experience and content. The public generally and school authorities quite widely accepted the belief that children of the less favored social classes are less intelligent than those from the privileged classes. The children have become aware of this and accepted the dictum that they are "dumb." The school has kept on with the obvious narrow, highly verbalized form of education. It is odd that the evidence of everyday common sense did not have more effect than it did prior to the appearance of current research studies. Scores of pupils "dull" in school were obviously highly intelligent and bright outside of school. Uncritical school authorities and the public dismissed this as "one of those things," thereby overlooking a clue of vital importance.

Extensive research under way has shown clearly that when

¹⁹ The classic summaries on this are in the Twenty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, and in the many studies by Beth L. Wellman and her associates.

Nature and Nurture, the Twenty-Seventh Yearbook as above, 1928.

Beth L. Wellman, "Growth in Intelligence under Differing School Environments," *Journal of Experimental Education* (December, 1934), pp. 59-83.

Alice M. Leahy, "Nature-Nurture and Intelligence," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1935, pp. 235-306.

Marie Skodak and Harold M. Skeels, "A Follow-up Study of Children in Adoptive Homes," *Journal of Genetic Psychology* (March, 1945), pp. 21-85.

Walter F. Dearborn and John W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge, Mass., Sci-Art Publishing Co., 1941).

Bernardine Schmidt, "Changes in Personal, Social, and Intellectual Behavior of Children Originally Classified as Feeble-Minded," *Psychological Monograph*, Vol. 60, No. 5. (Reported also in *School and Society*, December 29, 1945, pp. 409-412).

Samuel A. Kirk, "An Evaluation of the Study by Bernardine Schmidt Entitled Changes in Personal, Social, and Intellectual Behavior of Children Originally Classified as Feeble Minded," *Psychological Bulletin* (July, 1948), pp. 321-333. A criticism with reply immediately following, pp. 331-343.

J. Murray Lee and Dorris Lee, *The Child and His Curriculum* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., rev. 1950. An excellent non-technical summary. Pp. 38-44)

the questions or problems of the intelligence tests were changed so that content and wording were equally familiar to all levels of children, the wide differences in intelligence score were reduced or disappeared. Children from the lower social classes did as well as those from the upper groups. Check tests were devised in which the procedure was reversed, questions phrased in very literary or "highbrow" terms. The lower class scores fell far below those of the upper classes. The children, however, had previously made similar scores on simply worded problems which tested the same thing as the "highbrow" question.

Tests devised by Davis and Hess²⁰ attempt to measure reasoning, memory, observation, critical objectivity, and creativeness. Syllogisms, problems of logical classification, inductive reasoning, arithmetical reasoning, and of imaginative insight are included. Language and content are free from social class bias. Individual differences were found as always, but no differences between socio-economic groups.

All this is vital in understanding the effect of the social class structure on schooling and on the personality of children. We may say safely that:

The typical intelligence test favors the upper class children and discriminates against the lower class group in its language and content.

The typical intelligence test is limited to a narrow range of verbal skills, and does not test an adequate range of intellectual skills.

The school offers a narrow verbalised education with success to children who are also successful in the verbal intelligence tests.

The school erroneously classifies as dull many children whose abilities, interests, and ambitions are neither tested by intelligence tests nor stimulated by the curriculum.

Social class origin, therefore, has marked effect on the school attitude toward the child's "intelligence" and achievement. Worse, it has a serious detrimental effect upon the child's attitude. He accepts the belief that he is "dumb," he

²⁰ Allison Davis, "Education for the Conservation of Human Resources," *Progressive Education* (May, 1950), pp. 221-226. Preliminary report.

fails to try, is convinced that the school will do him little good.

The school is in serious need of extensive reorganization of curriculum and method of teaching. The writers have been struck constantly by the fact that teachers using modern group methods on common projects or units, often exclaim over the "unusual" performance of children hitherto classified as "dull." The wider range of activities in modern curriculums and methods, the diversified problems met, actually do appeal to wider ranges of intellectual endeavor. There will always be children who are less able than others, but these and the bright ones will appear anywhere regardless of class lines.

Social class lines disregarded by children in formation of their own gangs and cliques. The formation of the "gangs" of children of the same age and sex, the typical behavior of these gangs, and the resistance of adults to this gang life can also be better understood if seen within the framework of the social class pattern. Children at this level of development appear to choose their special groups regardless of social class membership. Warner²¹ points out that social class structure did not begin to affect the clique or group formation until junior and senior high school. The play groups, in school at least, during the elementary age period showed no relation to social class. The case studies of Davis and Dollard²² also revealed that social status did not begin to be recognized or felt by individuals until the beginning of junior high school. The study of Long,²³ previously cited, emphasized that behavior tendencies at this level showed a higher relationship to age than to education of parents, socioeconomic pattern, or other behavior tendencies. Davidson²⁴ has some very interesting evidence in this connection. In a

²¹ Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*

²² Davis and Dollard, *op. cit.*

²³ Alma Long, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Helen H. Davidson, *Personality and Economic Background* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1943).

study of highly intelligent children from nine to twelve years of age with varying economic and social backgrounds, her purpose was to determine the relationship of that background to personality development. She found no high relationship between family income or status and specific traits of personality, and because this disagrees with a large number of studies which have found such a relationship, she suggests that the developmental trends of this age group are so overwhelming and significant to the children themselves as to obscure or to place temporarily in the background the effect on the personality of economic circumstance or social status. Children at this age do not sense the great differences in income, nor do they sense the distinctions between classes of people, she concludes. Significant also is her evidence to show that bright children showed no unique or fixed personality pattern that differentiated them from the less bright.

Upper class children choose the less controlled behavior of lower classes. The following hypothesis is therefore proposed as an explanation of the motivation toward the unique group life of the preadolescent. Children of the upward mobile classes, because of the remoteness of the rewards for socially approved behavior and in an effort to release some of the anxiety associated with the fear of failure to achieve status, choose to imitate the behavior of the children from the lower classes who are allowed more freedom, more aggression, and who receive more immediate rewards. Miller and Dollard ²⁵ have shown most of our socialization takes place through imitation. They describe four types of persons imitated in such learning: superiors in (1) age and grade, (2) social status, (3) intelligence, or (4) technical skill. In what ways do children of the lower class appear superior to middle and upper class children? It is apparently not age, grade, intelligence, or technical skill, but it is the symbols of superior social status lower class children appear to have. The case studies of

²⁵ *Op. cit.*

Davis and Dollard show that the lower-Lower class child has considerable freedom to explore the society around him, the middle class child is systematically prevented from doing this; the lower class child may experience many forms of aggression, the middle class child's aggression is chronically suppressed; the lower class child has early instruction in sexual matters, such information is forbidden the middle class child. In short, it appears that the middle class child "has the status of a much younger child, his free movement is controlled until he is late in adolescence." So whether the later childhood group actually contains a member who has lower social status or not, the children in such a group can find around them in the pattern of the lower class child's life a kind of behavior that to them seems much more desirable than the constantly restrictive standards of parents and teachers.

It should also be remembered that one of the constantly recurring characteristics of the upward mobile social classes is their insistence that their children do not associate with children of inferior social status. Even when this is enforced it is apparent that during these particular years of childhood the child imitates the behavior of the lower class to some extent. In this social class context, the conflict between adults and these older children takes on greater significance. The observation by some students of childhood that preadolescents appear to be rejected by parents and teachers and that understanding and trust between children and parents is lost at this period is substantiated to some extent by the analysis of social class structure.

Summary of Section B. Class structure theory reinforces the attitude of adults and behavior of children during later childhood. Social class cultures are significant in determining what a child's social environment offers him in the way of models for imitation and identification, of cultural incentives and goals. An analysis of social class theory may help in providing a background for understanding the apparent "re-

gression" in socialization during later childhood. Lower-class children may appear to "regress" because of their realization that the goals of "good" behavior are unrealistic, whereas middle and upper class children may show the same type of behavior because of the remoteness of social goals, the anxiety resulting from fear of failure, and the suppression of aggression. Children at this level may turn to the standards of behavior exhibited in the lower-class children because of their apparent superior social status, finding their source of motivation in gang approval. The resulting conflict, between the standards of the gang and the standards of adults, in the lives of children can be seen as having serious proportions when its roots are found in the sociological structure. It seems likely upon the basis of recent extensive studies of the social structure of American communities and of the personality development of children, that a social class structure is an integrative pattern which influences the behavior of all the groups in which the child of a particular cultural level is socialized.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR SECTION B

Committee reports or panel discussions can be used to extend the students' contacts with the new and important literature dealing with the class structure in American society and its effect on child development.

1. One or more committees might develop a list of the characteristics of the various social classes in our society. Three or more of the many references available on the American social structure could be used. Several committees could cover a considerable part of the literature.

2. Similar reports could be made developing the general effect of this social structure and its demands upon the children.

3. A detailed report might be made by a committee or by the class as a whole on the implications of all this for education and child growth.

4. A report might be made here, if time permits, on the general processes of socialization in our culture. This report might be delayed until a later chapter, depending on the progress of the class. The point to bring out is the possibility of using processes of socialization that do not rest upon imposition and pressure, even though these processes may

be necessary. Consult the literature on general psychology, mental hygiene, principles of teaching, and the like.

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4

Physical Growth and its Relation to Behavior

The changing developmental status of these children. The preceding chapters have dealt with the changing social status of older children. This material has been presented first because it distinguishes this group most dramatically. We will now consider the changing developmental status of these children and will suggest the relationship of this development to their social status. Two aspects of the child's growth will be considered: the first, (Chapter 4) that of physical growth and its relationship to the behavior of these children; the second, (Chapter 5) that of intellectual development and its relationship to the conduct thought to be typical of this age range.

In the discussion of the changing developmental status of older children, the purpose in these chapters is again to point out in what fundamental ways these children differ from those immediately younger and older, and in what ways these developmental factors assist or resist the child's efforts to achieve personal and social integration. The emphasis will continue to be upon the nature and needs of these children as human beings. Only those studies of development which appear to be related to this purpose will be included. If the majority of the subjects investigated in the area of intellectual development were taken as a cue, it might be concluded that the only concern scientific investigation has with children of these years is whether they have learned what we have tried to teach them, or how our methods of instruction might be improved. Research into the growth

and development of younger children has affected the attitudes and procedures of teachers of young children and parent education workers, and research into adolescent development is having direct effects on thinking and practice in secondary education. The present treatment of the developmental changes during later childhood is concerned with the relationship of that development to the social characteristics previously described with the purpose of making clear the peculiar needs of these transitional years from childhood to adolescence.

The facts concerning physical growth during later childhood fairly well established. In respect to their physical or constitutional growth, these children have had rather thorough research. While there is disagreement as to the meaning, cause, and amount of deviation from the typical growth pattern, there is relatively wide agreement concerning the physical status of the majority of children from age nine to twelve. It is not within the scope of this study to review or summarize the details of this physical growth as this has been done adequately elsewhere. The accepted generalizations will be pointed out and interpreted in reference to those aspects of behavior associated with later childhood.¹ It is known that during the period under consideration physical and organic growth is stable. The years of relatively least growth in height are from nine to ten for girls and from ten to eleven for boys. Changes are slow and gradual in all general

¹ Recent summaries of physical development that include the age range of later childhood may be found in the following sources:

M. E. Breckenridge and E. L. Vincent, *Child Development* (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., 1943), chap. LV.

W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development* (Cambridge, Sci-Art Publishers, 1941), chaps. 1 and 4.

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G. D. Stoddard and B. L. Wellman, *Child Psychology* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934), chap. 3.

Willard C. Olson, *Child Development* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1949).

proportions. The yearly growth increments are the least of all growth periods until maturity. Glandular development is in the same general balance at the end of the period as it was in the beginning. Most children are relatively freer from disease at this age than at any other growth period. By ten years, the eyes have reached adult size and are completely developed in function. Physiologically, the girls at the age of eleven are a full year ahead of the boys. At eleven years some girls and fewer boys, through sudden and rapid growth, show signs of approaching adolescence. In short it is a period of slow growth when compared with the years just preceding it and the years to follow with the exception of a small group of early "maturers."

The outstanding physical developments are (1) increased manual dexterity, (2) increased strength, and (3) increased resistance to fatigue. These developments make it possible for the child to engage in activities involving the use of small muscles and finer motor performance over longer periods of time. This change in muscular and motor coördination results in a rapid increase in the ability of these children to handle themselves and objects with which they play. They improve in muscular agility, accuracy, and endurance. They can play strenuous games longer, run faster, throw and catch much better, and can jump and climb with great ease and assurance.

There is organic need for strenuous physical activity: skeletal muscles are developing and require exercise. Nine-to-eleven-year-olds dash breathlessly from place to place, never walk when they can run, never run when they can jump or do something more strenuous.²

Possible relationships between physical development and behavior. The foregoing general agreements concerning the growth characteristics and the physical development trends of later childhood indicate that there are no dramatic physical changes taking place which would account for the social

² Walter F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development*, p. 198.

characteristics seemingly typical of these children. The fact that it is considered the most placid and predictable period physically in the whole growth cycle probably accounts for the limited research interest which has been directed toward it. Chapter 2 of this study, however, has pointed out that it is not a placid or predictable period socially or personally for these children. Rather it is a time of conflict and possible maladjustments as well as important social learning. Does an understanding of the physical growth and development of these children have any implications for the behavioral dilemma at this period?

Conflicting evidence on relation of general growth pattern to behavior. The relation between physical growth and emotional or behavior problems has been the subject of some scientific investigation, the implications of which are not clear. The work of W. C. Olson at the University of Michigan has been an outstanding example of such study among children of school age. He and his co-workers³ have analyzed school progress, behavior, and personality in relation to various aspects of growth progress, such as height age, weight age, dental age, carpal age, grip age, and mental age. Their most extensive interpretations of these relationships have been in the area of educational achievement and the composite growth picture. Mecham⁴ proposes some tentative findings in the relationship between emotional or behavior problems and the growth rate. These findings are based upon repeated measures of a small group over a period of years. These data indicate that during periods of rapid growth children often become school problems. They are often restless, causing disciplinary problems, and lacking in initiative. The data

³ W. C. Olson, "The Concept of the Organism as a Whole," *Pupil Development and the Curriculum* (Ann Arbor, Bureau of Educational Reference and Research, University of Michigan, 1937). Also W. C. Olson and B. O. Hughes, "The Concept of Organismic Age," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1942), pp. 525-527.

⁴ Mary E. Mecham, "Affectivity and Growth in Children," *Child Development*, 1943, pp. 91-143.

also point out that during periods of "split growth" (when progress in some phase of growth is greater than in others) children are less smoothly adjusted to the ordinary demands of life. They tend to develop behavior problems and to reveal less agreeable personality traits than are characteristic of them at other times in their lives. The author states that the studies are not sufficiently advanced to prove this point, but the indications are that there is a definite relationship between a positive disposition, acceptable behavior, and smoothness of physical and mental growth.

The foregoing tentative proposals of relationship between smoothness of growth and satisfactory behavior or adjustment are in conflict with the evidence already presented that later childhood is a period of regressive or "unsocial" behavior during a period of stable and smooth growth. It has been pointed out that a small minority of individuals may begin their period of maximum growth at this age level. However, it is not likely that this minority would warrant the conclusion that this period is the one in which the ordinary behavior aberrations are most frequently found. The evidence presented in a number of related studies would indicate that during the years just preceding adolescence there are marked modifications of the child's social behavior without marked acceleration of physical growth. This relationship requires more elaborate investigation.

Increased energy and motor coördination probably does affect behavior. There are some reasons to believe that the major physical developmental aspect, that of increased motor and muscular coördination, does have implications for the behavior peculiar to preadolescents. The most obvious relationship between their new physical status and their behavior is the changing attitude toward personal appearance. These children cannot keep themselves neat when they are constantly hurrying somewhere, and engaging in strenuous play. The kinds of things they appear to enjoy doing most keep them dirty and disheveled. In the eyes of these children

cleaning up for the activities that adults require is probably without value. The increased energy and muscular development seem to make walking quietly, or the handling of objects quietly, impossible. Strenuous play appears to be naturally accompanied by shouts and loud talking. From this point of view, the resistance of these children to the standards of adults can be seen to have some physical basis. These children cannot be expected to sit or work quietly for any great length of time, particularly when other children are near, or when they are engaged in activities that do not have their immediate interest.

Increased ability, skill, and endurance perhaps cause these boys and girls to differentiate themselves more sharply from younger children who do not have such capacities. With the realization that they are no longer babies may come the urge to cease behaving as babies. This may account in part for their apparent struggle for a new standard of conduct. Certainly their new physical abilities make participation in group or gang activities possible. Isaacs⁵ believes that it is the increased size and physical skill of the child at this age that give him the courage to try out group relationships and exhibit the aggression he does toward adults and their wishes.

This new physical power may also result in further parental conflict because it does not ordinarily bring along with it any new freedoms or privileges. The adolescent growth spurt which differentiates sharply the next older age group in size and physical ability may cause the children of the later childhood period to reject them as models for imitation. Parents do not frequently recognize the needs of the older child for increased freedoms commensurate with his increased physical skills because of his distance from maturity. Lacking status with his parents, finding imitation of the next age group difficult because of physical size and lack of heterosexual interests, and realizing his own physical superiority

⁵ Susan Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933).

over younger children, it is little wonder that the preadolescent child turns to his own-age-sex mates for approval and status.

The development of physical skills promotes differences in interests and activities by sexes. The increased skill in those activities involving the use of small muscles, increased strength, and increased resistance to fatigue also make it possible for children at this age to develop skills and interests which contribute to their feeling of personal worth as well as to differentiate themselves from the opposite sex. Studies of interests ⁶ reveal that frequently at this age children begin doing things requiring a rather high degree of manual skill, such as working in a shop, or sewing, or cooking. According to Stolz ⁷ there is often a tendency for children of these ages to become quite sensitive to their inadequacies in skills, or to become directly interested in skills. Not infrequently they undertake activities requiring a high degree of skill and are dissatisfied with the results they are able to accomplish. These characteristics make it important that the program of guidance for such children affords opportunity for developing more refined skills as these interests develop. In this respect the period presents an unusual opportunity for this type of achievement.

While the development of skills makes it possible for these children to differentiate their interests and activities from those of the opposite sex, there is another opportunity for development that has been pointed out for girls specifically. Stolz notes that while it is but an intermediate stage in the boys' development of coördination, for girls it is the last period during which the majority of them are interested in large muscle activity. Stone and Barker's ⁸ study of the at-

⁶ Paul A. Witty and D. Kopel, *Reading and the Educative Process* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1939).

⁷ Herbert R. Stolz, "Growth Needs of Children in the Intermediate Grades," *Educational Method*, 1938, pp. 157-162.

⁸ C. P. Stone and R. G. Barker, "The Attitudes and Interests of Pre-menarcheal and Post-menarcheal Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1939, pp. 393-414.

titudes and interests of pre-menarcheal and post-menarcheal girls also substantiates this point. Zachry⁹ is of the opinion that the approval during the past few years for girls of this age to dress simply, even wear clothes like boys, and to engage in rough-and-tumble play has lengthened the period in which girls are physically vigorous. This would imply that both boys and girls need guidance in the development of skills that will give them the feeling of adequacy demanded in their group life and in the development of their sense of personal worth and achievement. A section of Chapter 2 has related how the basic deviations from the pattern of behavior at this level were largely physical deviates.

Individual differences must not be overlooked. The foregoing account of the somewhat undramatic facts about growth of these children should not obscure the individual differences which exist. The range within a sixth-grade class in height and weight of individuals may be as great as seventy-two months in each category, calculated as "ages." The curriculum, teaching, grouping, and particularly the counseling of these children must take into account, as at all other ages, the individual differences in physical factors.

Summary. Physical growth and its relation to behavior. The present chapter on the changing physical status of children in later childhood has pointed out that in total growth it is typically a stable period in regard to body bulk, organ, and glandular development. It was also noted that the relationship between this period of slow growth and the change or modification of social behavior is not clear from the evidence available. Later childhood may be differentiated from the earlier growth period physically by the increase in manual dexterity, strength, and resistance to fatigue. It may be differentiated from the adolescent period by the maximum growth spurt preceding puberty. The increase in physical skill is probably accompanied by an organic need for strenu-

⁹ Caroline B. Zachry and M. Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940).

ous physical activity. The following relationships between the changing physical development and the behavior common to this growth cycle have been proposed: (1) that increased physical skill makes evident to these older children that they are no longer babies and must therefore exhibit a different kind of conduct, (2) that parental conflict may result in so far as the new physical skill does not bring with it new freedom or privileges, (3) that the large difference in size and physical prowess of the next older group makes imitation of their more acceptable behavior difficult, (4) that the development of physical skills makes sexual differentiation possible by providing differences in activities and interests, and (5) that physical skills provide a basis for gang solidarity and membership. The increase in muscular coordination, strength, and endurance provides opportunities for developing interests and skills which will increase the child's feeling of personal worth and of status among his peers and family. This period of development is probably the last one in which the majority of girls will engage in vigorous physical activity.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

The information and insight of the class can be increased through reviews and panel discussions of certain of the original sources upon which the brief summary of this chapter is based.

The publications of Willard Olson plus those of his students are of particular interest here. Other materials are those by Arnold Gesell and his associates at the Yale Clinic; Lois Meek and Herbert Stolz. The publications of the University of Iowa Child Welfare Station and those of the Institute of Human Development at the University of Chicago should be examined.

1. Suppose the educators managing the grade school that you attended had been able to utilize all we now know of the physical growth of children in the upper grades. Organize a report showing changes that might have been made in general policy, administration, curriculum, methods of teaching, grouping, promotion, examining and marking, or any other factor. Be specific.

2. What are some of the obstacles to the establishment of a school regime adapted to the physical development of children at this age.

3. For students who have not had recent contact with nine-, ten-, and

eleven-year-olds, and for those who may find it difficult to observe this age group, it is suggested that the pictures and accompanying descriptions of these children in chapters six and seven of *These Are Your Children* by Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer, be studied carefully. The pictures will give the student a better understanding of the size, appearance, and characteristic behavior of these children. Because the book has relatively large pictures and will open flat, it would be very desirable for a class member to show these pictures at a class meeting by the use of an opaque projector.

4. If the class has a campus elementary school or a coöperating public elementary school available it would be profitable for a small committee to examine the height and weight records of one group of children through the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Most good schools at the present time have cumulative record forms from which such data are available. The record of height and weight should be examined to substantiate: (a) the slow, steady gain for the majority of pupils during these years; (b) the similarity between the height and weight of boys and girls; and (c) the increase in height and weight of the girls over the boys as a group.

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PHYSICAL GROWTH AND ITS RELATION TO BEHAVIOR

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5

Intellectual Development and its Relation to Behavior

The second area of changing status to be discussed is that of intellectual development and its relation to behavior. Considerable interest has been exhibited in this area by educational research workers attempting to determine the child's ability to do school work. A large amount of information is available about such items as: norms for reading rate and comprehension for the various grades, the grade placement of subject matter, the sequence and difficulty of arithmetical computations, the average spoken and written vocabularies of children at certain grade levels, the diagnosis of skills into minute steps, the length of the attention span, the successful use of various materials of instruction, the most common errors in the various skills, and the effectiveness of many types of instructional procedures. The implications of these findings for the classroom have been repeatedly pointed out. This research has shown, in general, and as would be expected, that as children grow older the majority of them improve in their ability to do more complicated intellectual tasks. The purpose of the present discussion is to determine if there is intellectual development peculiar to later childhood that will afford further insight into the behavior and social relationships of that period. From this point of view the emphasis is more upon what the possibilities of intellectual development mean to the child as a person rather than what these possibilities may mean to the adult as an

educator or "socializer." The hypothesis in this connection is that the child, because of changes in intellectual status, may react to other children and adults differently than in an earlier period.

A few reliable studies have been reported which show that the child's capacity for more accurate thinking is developed during the years just preceding adolescence. This seems to be made possible by the child's transfer from fantasy to reality in his thought life, his growing ability to see causal relations, and his growth in the use of reading skills.

1. *The seeking for reality and objectivity.* Perhaps the basic study which has shown that children at about this age begin to get a realistic picture of themselves and the world was made by Piaget.¹ By means of controlled interviews with a large number of children ranging in age from two to seventeen, every effort was made to get a spontaneous conviction from the children. He proposes that the child's concept of natural phenomena gradually develops from fantasy and personal identification to an understanding of natural laws. Slowly the child distinguishes himself from the external world. At about eight or nine the child begins to make a clear distinction between himself and the outer world. The concept of natural laws and physical relationships becomes almost fully developed by twelve years. He indicates that during the years here labeled as "later childhood" the individual's ideas concerning the origin and natural functioning of plants, animals, water, sky, sun, moon, earth, and so forth become remarkably clear and correct.

Isaacs,² basing her opinions on a large number of psychiatric interviews and wide observation of children in group work, has recognized the same type of intellectual development during the same age range. She finds it so characteristic of the period that she has called it the period of "reality test-

¹ Jean Piaget, *The Child's Conception of the World* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929).

² Susan Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933).

ing." Her findings have shown that the child at this time is interested and develops rapidly not only in his understanding of mechanical causality and natural phenomena, but he exhibits an equal interest and understanding of his own relationships to others. She goes on to conclude that the group life and more accurate concepts of the world gives the child the courage to find out the results of aggressive behavior thus far kept in check through fear of the results. The child is actually overcoming fantasies about people as well as things. Gruenberg³ in comparing the child of nine through twelve with younger children points out that these older ones are intensely realistic, that even their imaginative activity is applied in concrete ways, and their interest in fairy tales is limited to those of action and brave deeds. She points out that intellectually it is a time of eager absorption of information and ready accumulation of ideas. Children are now experimenting with their environment, trying out people and things, and drawing general conclusions.

Children's fears even become more realistic. Indirectly, the study of children's fears gives further insight into the transfer from fantasy to reality at about this age level. The most extensive study of children's fears has been done by Jersild and his co-workers. A report by Jersild and Holmes⁴ brings much of this information together. By far the greatest per cent of reported fears by children below nine are of imaginary creatures or characters. From nine to twelve such fears decrease sharply and the chief basis for fear becomes the fear of bodily injury, attacks by others, confinement, fire, sight of fighting, dangers of traffic, diving, and characters met or remembered. It will be noted that these fears of older children are basically realistic in comparison with those of the younger groups. Interestingly enough, this study pointed out

³ Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Half Way Up the Stairs," *Child Study*, 1934, pp. 3-6.

⁴ A. T. Jersild and F. B. Holmes, "Children's Fears," *Child Development Monographs*, No. 20 (New York, Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1935).

that the fear of being abandoned by parents increased steadily during the years nine through twelve although such fear does not constitute a large percentage of fears at any level. Davidson's study⁵ of the characteristics of bright children from nine through twelve included some analysis of their fears. While the majority of these children expressed no great fears, those expressed were the realistic ones of disease, death, or accidents. It may be that the child's freedom from the imaginary fears of early childhood makes it possible for him to have more objective critical relations with those who have authority over him.

Personal relationships more objective and "impersonal." There is some evidence in the Sanford⁶ longitudinal study of children, ages five to sixteen, which indicates that this interest in and growing awareness of reality has some effect upon personality and the relationships that children maintain with others. It will be remembered from an earlier discussion of the Sanford study in Chapter 2 that for purposes of comparison the subjects of this research were divided into three age groups: a younger group, ages five to nine, a middle group, ages nine to thirteen, and an older group, ages thirteen to sixteen. The "middle group" corresponds to the later childhood period. A major portion of the study was concerned with an investigation of personality variables and the development of these variables with age. A variety of procedures were used to expose these variables: observational devices such as parent interviews, school reports, teacher interviews, teacher questionnaires, and staff ratings; personality tests including projection tests, memory of failure tests; tests of sentiments and interests; and annoyance tests. The authors state that one of the major findings of the study was the difference in the total personality picture of the

⁵ Helen B. Davidson, *Personality and Economic Background* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1943).

⁶ R. N. Sanford and others, "Physique, Personality, and Scholarship," *Mono-graphs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Washington, D. C., National Research Council, 1943).

child from nine to thirteen when compared with the younger and older groups. "Intracception is more pronounced in our youngest and in our oldest subjects than in our middle subjects. It is perhaps better to say that certain manifestations of an intracceptive attitude tend to become pronounced at either end of the age range five through fifteen." The authors use the introception-extracception concept as developed by Murray. As the concept is used it is not a mere quality of action, but rather a basic attitude underlying action. It corresponds highly to those concepts usually found under the headings of Introversion and Extroversion.

To say that children of this age group are more extracceptive than in the years preceding and immediately following is equivalent to saying they are more "objective, factual, accurate, impersonal, practical, empirical, utilitarian, cool, and phlegmatic, insensitive, tough-minded, or materialistic" —to use but a few of Murray's⁷ own characteristics ascribed to the extracceptor. Some bases which the authors present in support of this broad generalization are of interest. (1) Capacity for logical, concrete thinking as determined by teacher ratings exhibits an inverted "U" curve when plotted against age for the years five to fourteen, the highest point being years nine to eleven. (2) Interest in science stories reaches its height at this age (Grade 5). (3) As qualities to be desired in a friend, children in the middle group express greater preference for courage and loyalty, less regard for kindness and generosity than do older or younger children. This study, by revealing a difference in the basic attitude of children in later childhood, by pointing out their interest in reality and the realistic nature of their relations with others, substantiates the proposal that intellectually these children are becoming more objective.

Interests and questions increasingly about wider physical environment. Studies which have relied upon children's in-

⁷ H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938).

terests, questions, contributions to discussion, and leisure activities reveal further the older child's reality seeking. Witty and Kopel⁸ made a study of the reading tastes, reading interests, and favored leisure activities of children in the first six grades. This study of 3,400 children in a single community clearly shows the growing concern of children for a more accurate conception of their environment. Animal stories involving the element of personification are a favored theme of the primary child. Interest in the fantastic quality of the nature and fairy tale reaches its height at about the age of eight. At nine, however, there develops an interest in stories of real life. From that age through twelve, if the choice of reading is indicative, children live more in the real world than in the world of fancy. These older children sought stories having a realistic adventure theme. Among magazines preferred by children in their leisure reading, the children's magazines were preferred until the end of the fourth grade, at which time *Popular Mechanics* took first place and continued to be read extensively by children in the upper grades. The realism of this age is again revealed in the Witty and Kopel study by the choice of favored activities. Through age nine, a highly favored activity was imaginative play like "Cops and Robbers" or "G-Men," while from nine through twelve the preference was for organized athletic games. In another instance, the authors of this study⁹ compared their results with those of a number of other investigators of reading interests and leisure activities and found general agreement with their own study.

Baker¹⁰ has made a study of children's questions, primarily to point out their implications for the school cur-

⁸ Paul A. Witty and D. Kopel, "Studies of the Activities and Preferences of School Children," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 1938, pp. 429-441.

⁹ Paul A. Witty and D. Kopel, *Reading and the Educative Process* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1939).

¹⁰ Emily V. Baker, *Children's Questions and their Implication for the Curriculum* (New York, Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945).

riculum; but an analysis of those questions also reveals the extent to which the older children are concerned with understanding their environment more accurately. Over 9,000 questions were collected from 1,402 children in grades three through six. These children were from sixteen widely separated areas. The situation for collecting the questions was so arranged as to cause the children to feel free in expressing themselves. The interests expressed in these questions remained about the same for the three levels. Nearly 50 per cent of the questions could be classified under the heading "social studies." In this classification the children were primarily interested in the causes of social phenomena, methods of communication, transportation, inventions, the development of cities, social customs, and current events. Thirty-eight per cent of the questions called for scientific information. From year to year in grades three through six these "scientific" questions showed a decline in the interest in animals and plant life, and an increase in interest in the "earth," energy, the human body, weather, climate, and astronomy.

Bell¹¹ has also investigated, by analyzing children's questions, the interests of children at this age and has compared these interests with those of older children. He asked children in grades five through ten to write out those questions which had not been answered for them. Upon the classification of these questions it was determined that the fifth and sixth grade children indicated a greater interest in science and mechanics than either of the two older groups. They were more interested in nature and the physical world than were the ninth and tenth graders and slightly more interested than the seventh and eighth graders. They asked relatively fewer questions about religion as compared to the two older groups. They were not as interested in other people as were

¹¹ Hugh M. Bell, "Unanswered Questions of Upper Grade Pupils," *Children's Interests*, Twelfth Yearbook of California School Principals Association, 1940.

the older pupils, except that they asked more questions about their family than did the older children. This study would indicate that the preadolescent child's interest in reality is more concerned with natural and technological phenomena than with human relationships.

Baker's study¹² of children's contributions during free discussion periods gives some further evidence of the movement away from primary concern for personal relations on the part of younger children toward greater concern for the wider environment on the part of older children. Children's interests, preoccupations, and the characteristics of their communication were studied by means of systematic records of their contributions during discussion periods. These discussions took place in the regular classrooms in the presence of regular teachers but with a minimum of adult direction or participation. The discussions were about as "free" as such an enterprise can be within the walls of the classroom. The purpose was not to deal with the problem as to the qualities of the thinking but rather to reveal what children contribute and the extent to which they take into account the contributions of others. There was a decrease in the percentage of contributions devoted to "personal activities" of the children themselves from grade two to grade four and again to grade six. There was a corresponding increase in the percentage of contributions devoted to "current happenings" other than those occurring at home or concerning the family. These trends are of interest to the present study in that they reveal the growing interest of the child in other matters than himself and his family. The percentage of contributions devoted to personal activity was at the sixth grade one-third of what it was at the second grade. The percentage of contributions devoted to "current happenings" outside the contributor's home was at the sixth grade almost ten times

¹² Harold V. Baker, "Children's Contributions in Elementary School General Discussion," *Child Development Monographs*, No. 29 (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942).

what it was at the second grade. The findings of this study indicate that the focus from individual concern to group relations is also revealed in the children's reaction to contributions in free group discussion. Children in grade two give evidence of far more individualism in their discussion than do those in grades four and six. Only 5 per cent of the contributions in grade two continued topics previously introduced into the discussion, while in the other two grades more than 40 per cent of the contributions did so. In the second grade discussions, very little "meeting of minds" appeared, but in grades four and six almost 50 per cent of the discussions were of this type. This study of children's participation in a free discussion group indicates that as children reach the level of later childhood they become less interested in their relationships with their own family, more interested in events outside the family, and more interested in individuals like themselves.

These paragraphs have attempted to show that a characteristic of the older child's intellectual development is his seeking of reality. Investigators have shown that during these years the child's understanding of natural laws and physical relationships expands greatly. His interests are high in science and invention. The imaginative fears of childhood are overcome to a great extent during these years. There is evidence that this realistic understanding and growing interest in a larger world draws the child away from more intimately personal interests and relationships. The confidence that more accurate understanding brings may account in part for the new relationships he develops with his peers and his parents. It may be that the authority relationships of the earlier years are being subjected to the same kind of reality seeking apparent in the child's relationship to the mechanical and physical world. Here again there may be some basis for his rejection of adult standards and a greater reliance upon the code of his peers.

2. The increasing use of causal relationships in the physical and mechanical fields. Along with the growing concept of reality there appears to come increasing ability to see causal relationships and to form generalizations. These generalizations are used in more accurate reasoning. In a very thorough experiment Deutsche¹³ determined and analyzed the explanations of children for the causes of certain physical phenomena. These phenomena were demonstrated before groups of children ranging in age from eight through sixteen. The children were then requested, individually, to explain the causes and relationships involved. These explanations were then classified as to their adequacy into five levels. These levels are (1) "Phenomenistic," in which the child offers an explanation with no concept of the relationships involved, (2) "Animistic," in which the child gives objects life and capability for movement, (3) "Dynamic," in which the child still sees forces within the object as the cause, (4) "Mechanical," in which explanations are based on the contact of objects and the transfer of movement, and (5) "Logical Deduction," in which the reasoning is sufficient. A study of the data associated with each type of reasoning shows, (a) that the sharpest decline in the explanation of causes on a phenomenistic basis is between the years nine and thirteen, with very little change beyond that age, (b) that there is a steady increase in using a "mechanical" explanation of causes from nine to thirteen—after that age the per cent of "mechanical" answers remains about the same, and (c) that between the years nine and thirteen the increase in the percent of children using "logical deduction" as a means of explaining causal relations increased more rapidly than the period thirteen through sixteen. In proposing the five levels of adequacy in explaining causal relations Deutsche does not propose that causal thinking develops from one level to another as

¹³ Jean M. Deutsche, "The Development of Children's Concepts of Causal Relations," *Child Development and Behavior*, edited by Barker and others (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1943).

separate stages. She found all levels or types of explanation at all ages and concluded that the type of thinking is specific to the problem. While her results show no stages of development from one type to another there is a general increase in this ability from year to year with the sharpest increase between the ages nine and thirteen. It is during the same age span that there is the most rapid decrease in explanations of physical causation based on "phenomenistic" and "animistic" reasons. Children at this age do think logically about many matters of physical causation.

Deutsche would in fact omit the "animistic" level, the other four covering the majority of cases. She believes also that the original seventeen types of causal thinking as given by Piaget is no longer a helpful classification. Huang¹⁴ who analyzed fifty-six studies dealing with children's thinking in cases of physical causality would also omit Piaget's "animistic" level, believing that children's explanations are due rather to naïveté here.

Further studies have shown that the ability to use causal relationships, particularly physical or mechanical relations, increases rapidly during later childhood. Raven,¹⁵ an English investigator, developed a series of sixty "Matrix Tests," each test a design from which a part has been removed. There are five sets of problems, the initial problem in each set providing training in the process of "educing" the relations necessary to solve the remaining problems. In the standardization of these tests they were given to 1,407 children from six to fourteen years of age and to adults. The median age scores showed slow development up to age eight, fairly rapid development from eight to thirteen years, six months, at which age development seemed to have reached the level of the

¹⁴ J. Huang, "Children's Conception of Physical Causality: A Critical Summary," *Pedagogic Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology* (March, 1943), pp. 71-121.

¹⁵ John C. Raven, "Standardization of Progressive Matrices," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1941, 137-150. A review is available in the *Review of Educational Research* for 1944.

twenty to thirty years age groups. In this study the ability to see and use relations in problem solving developed most rapidly during those years the present study designates as later childhood. For this group, such ability had reached the level of adults by the end of the later childhood period.

Croxton,¹⁶ in testing by performance the ability of individuals to generalize and apply these generalizations to experience, tested children from kindergarten through junior high school. He concluded that intermediate grade children are markedly superior to primary pupils in the ability to generalize and that junior high school pupils are not markedly superior to intermediate grade children. The older pupils did apply their generalizations more consistently than did the middle group.

A portion of the Sanford study,¹⁷ the basis of which has been described earlier, was concerned with the changes that take place in the child's use of certain concepts. In a few respects the children between ages nine and thirteen seem to surpass those of five to nine as well as those from thirteen to sixteen. It is they who were more concerned with the superiority of materials and objects and with the processes by which things are made. The children of this age group in this study were able to draw generalizations more valid than those of the younger group and equal to those of the older group.

Evidence on use of causal relationships in social fields not so clear. The foregoing paragraphs have presented evidence to show that children during later childhood exhibit a rapidly increasing ability to see and use causal relationships. This ability appears to reach almost adult level during these years. The available evidence is largely concerned with the use of such relationships in mechanical or physical phenomena. The extent to which these children comprehend causal rela-

¹⁶ W. C. Croxton, "Pupils' Ability to Generalize," *School Science and Mathematics*, 1936, pp. 627-634.

¹⁷ Sanford and others, *loc. cit.*

tions in social or personal affairs has not been reported. It is possible, however, to draw some hypotheses about such understanding from the previous discussion of the social characteristics of these children. It was pointed out that a majority of children at this time resist adult standards of conduct and social conformity, that there is apparent antagonism between the sexes, and that they seek the approval of age mates in small gangs. These gangs develop their own code of honor and resent direct adult supervision. These underlying attitudes often result in what adults call undesirable behavior. It seems probably from these characteristics that these children do not comprehend the causal relationships that lie behind the necessity for social impositions and socially approved relations. The values in and rewards for most of the desirable social habits and attitudes are dependent upon the ability to see the long range consequences of immediate actions. For example, the values in keeping clean except for parental approval are relatively remote in time for the child. The same could be said for the rewards for courtesy, or for the careful use of language, or for study. It may be that the child's concepts of time are such that he may not be able to apply causal relationships in this area.

Slow development of time concepts may retard insight into causality in social area. The research that has been made of children's concepts of time at this older age has dealt largely with the child's ability to comprehend and to make paper and pencil recall of historical relations. Perhaps the ability to see causal relations in human affairs over a period of time is related to the ability that has been proposed as necessary before the child can comprehend the remote consequences of his behavior. Oakden and Sturt,¹⁸ in studying children's concepts of historical chronology, report that the power to think of the past as different from the present seems to develop at about eight years. From this age on there is a beginning in

¹⁸ E. C. Oakden and Mary Sturt, "The Development of the Knowledge of Time in Children," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1922, pp. 309-336.

the distinguishing of historical periods. Historical epochs far removed from the present are most readily distinguished. Subdivisions in the past are at first ignored. They state that historical chronology should probably not be introduced before the child is eleven. Before that age, time concepts should be meaningfully interpreted in terms of time units they can understand. Jersild¹⁹ agrees that time concepts of the past do not emerge before eleven years. Ayer's study of the difficulties of fifth-grade pupils in using the materials from the fifth grade histories shows that the greatest difficulty was in comprehending the "ideas" involved.

There is strong evidence offered by Pistor²⁰ that during the elementary school years the inadequacy of clear concepts of the past is in part due to slow maturation and very little to inadequate teaching. His conclusions are of enough significance that some details of the study will be described. Pistor studied two large groups of children, one of which pursued history and chronology in grades, four, five, and six. The teachers of this group made extensive use of time charts, time lines, and similar devices. The second group was taught no history in grades four, five, and six, except as it was informally introduced in connection with geography. Upon entering grade six, time concept tests were administered to both groups. The pupils who received instruction in history and chronology did no better than the pupils without such instruction. Upon entering grade seven, time-concept tests were again given. Both groups showed a substantial improvement in scores this time, but again the group with no instruction in history and chronology achieved as high an average score as the group receiving such instruction. Pistor concludes, "the evidence points heavily in favor of maturation, rather than training, as the dominating factor in time-concept development."

¹⁹ A. T. Jersild, *Child Psychology* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940).

²⁰ F. Pistor, "How Time Concepts Are Acquired by Children," *Educational Method*, 1940, pp. 107-112.

The study by Baker²¹ gives some insight into the older elementary-school child's concern for immediate relations and events. As described in a preceding section, this study concerned the contributions children made during free discussion periods. At all levels in the elementary school the children studied preferred to turn their attention to the present. More than three-fourths of the contributions in these discussions were classified as concerning the present regardless of grade level. In the second grade the children talked mostly about what was immediate to them in time and in place location. In the sixth grade they talked mostly of what was immediate to them in time but was remote or removed from them in place location.

The immediately preceding paragraphs have attempted to point out that during later childhood the concept of time is not highly accurate. Children during these years remain primarily interested in current happenings. These children do not appear greatly interested in the past and do not comprehend the time relations necessary for the study of history. For this reason it seems likely that they do not have the ability to understand social behavior that depends upon well developed concepts of time. The limited concept of time may thus be related to the "unsocial" behavior and "subversive" standards of these older children. It is proposed, therefore, that in their thinking the use of causal relations may be limited to physical and mechanical phenomena and is not effective in understanding and appreciating social relationships.

In summary, a change in the intellectual status of children during later childhood appears to be a rapid increase in the ability to use causal relations in thinking about physical, mechanical, and natural phenomena. It is a time for accumulating a great deal of factual information and for effectively using this information in solving problems and seeing relationships. The satisfactions that this increasing

²¹ Baker, *loc. cit.*

control over his environment brings the child may be related to the independence he shows from adults. It has been proposed that because of the inaccurate concept of time at this level of development, these children probably do not apply causal thinking to behavior and social values. This may be one reason why the child at this age appears satisfied with standards of conduct proposed and supported by his peers.

3. Increase in the use of reading skills. Grades four, five, and six (the school level that corresponds broadly with the years of later childhood) have long been considered as the period of rapid growth and refinement of taste in reading. The schools have emphasized the use of this skill by the organization and nature of their programs. While it is true that the majority of pupils do make rapid gains in reading, it is also true that the largest number of so-called remedial cases appear during this time. Is the success or failure in the use of reading related to the efforts of these children to achieve personal or social integration?

Free reading reaches its peak during later childhood. Several sources have pointed out that interest in reading reaches its greatest height during the later childhood period. Terman and Lima²² have made an extensive analysis of the development of reading interests and habits. Their data show that the peak in the variety and amount of reading done by typical boys and girls is at twelve or thirteen years. Beginning at age nine, the amount of leisure reading increases steadily to about age thirteen where it again drops off steadily. The evidence of their study supports the conclusion that the average adult level in amount and variety of reading is about equal to that of the typical sixth-grade child. Witty and Lehman²³ also report that for the large number of children their study included, the height in reading interest was at age thirteen for the child of average intelligence. Another

²² L. M. Terman and M. Lima, *Children's Reading*, 2nd ed. (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1931).

²³ Paul A. Witty and H. C. Lehman, "The Reading and Reading Interests of Gifted Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1934, pp. 1-20.

study by Witty and Kopel²⁴ showed a decline of interest in reading beginning in the sixth grade and continuing through the seventh and eighth. This waning of reading interest is corroborated by studies of secondary-school pupils reported by Betzner and Lyman.²⁵ They disclose a low level in reading taste and a deplorably small amount of leisure reading on the part of high school pupils.

The references in the preceding paragraph represent a sampling of the earlier studies. Investigations are appearing currently showing the effect on children's interests and reading of the moving pictures, radio, and comics. Studies of television have not yet been made. An admirable summary of more recent studies is found in Chapter 2, "The Rôle of Interest and Motive in the Reading Process," of Witty's²⁶ *Reading in Modern Education*. Other summaries are available in Harris,²⁷ *How to Increase Reading Ability*, Chapter 13; in Betts,²⁸ *Foundations of Reading Instruction*, Chapter 14.

The foregoing statements indicate that during later childhood the majority of individuals probably do more reading as a leisure time activity than at any other period. The relationship of this to the previously discussed "reality seeking"

²⁴ Witty and Kopel, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Jean Betzner, and R. L. Lyman, "The Development of Reading Interests and Tastes," Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. (Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1937).

²⁶ Witty, *op. cit.* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1949).

²⁷ Albert J. Harris, *op. cit.* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1947, rev. ed.).

²⁸ E. A. Betts, *op. cit.* (New York, American Book Co., 1946).

See also samples of more recent studies:

Roma Gans, *A Study of Critical Reading Comprehension in the Intermediate Grades* (New York, Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1940).

Paul Witty, *General Manual to Accompany Reading for Interest, Teachers Manuals, Grades 1-6* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1942).

D. H. Russell, "Reading Preferences of Younger Adolescents in Saskatchewan," *English Journal*, 1941, pp. 131-136.

Marie Rankin, *Children's Interests in Library Books of Fiction* (New York, Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1944).

characteristic of these children is fairly obvious. Through reading they are probably satisfying some of their interests in understanding more accurately their environment. This reading may also be an additional means of understanding causal relationships. There may be some relationship here to the child's social behavior and attitudes. Through extensive reading he may be vicariously experiencing the kind of freedom that he seeks from adults. The paragraphs on "reality seeking" pointed out the interest of these children in realistic adventure stories. While reading normally has the approval of adults, it may also be a means of intellectual freedom from them. The child is no longer largely dependent upon them for information and understanding. His reading may provide an indirect means of achieving freedom from the restrictions of his social status.

Reading disabilities reach a peak during later childhood. The relation between the failure of many of these children to achieve success in reading and their changing social status has been more directly brought out in certain studies. The number of children reported as having reading disability serious enough to require special teaching becomes especially high during the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Monroe²⁹ reports that the incidence of reading disabilities is highest in these grades and that these disabilities are found more frequently among boys than among girls. Durrell,³⁰ using the data of the Harvard Growth Study, found that by the end of the sixth grade 15 per cent of the 1,130 children examined were to be classified as retarded readers, by which term he labels those whose reading age was a year below their mental age. He found retarded reading to be twice as frequent among the boys as among the girls, and to occur more frequently among children with normal and superior intelligence than it did among dull children.

²⁹ Marion Monroe, *Children Who Cannot Read* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932).

³⁰ D. D. Durrell, "Reading Disability in the Intermediate Grades," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1930.

The presence of many poor readers of normal intelligence at this age is brought to the attention of parents and teachers as a result of the emphasis on the use of reading in the school. The fourth grade is sometimes considered a crucial time in a child's reading development, for his success here is said to be highly indicative of his attainment in later grades. This view is supported by empirical observation and by studies of academic success. Betts³¹ has demonstrated that academic success in all subject matter areas in grades four, five, and six is usually impaired or precluded by a reading score less than 4.0, the score made by the typical child entering fourth grade.

Many schools use achievement in reading as the major criterion in determining whether children shall pass at the end of each primary grade. In the first three grades the subject areas have not been clearly demarcated, and general achievement is gauged largely in terms of success in reading. Many schools introduce in grade four formal and departmentalized subjects. The standard subject matter is reflected in the composition of many widely used achievement tests in subjects other than reading. Logically such tests become the guides for estimating children's academic adjustment. Since these tests measure knowledge comparable to and at times dependent upon those measured by standardized reading tests, the two instruments correlate rather highly and success in one is related to success in the other.

Disabilities in reading may be due to false standards. Close correspondence between the results of standardized tests in reading and in other subjects at these grade levels has led many people to assert that children in grade four must have a reading age of nine or ten in order to profit from regular instruction in this grade. True, a child must have that minimum to succeed in schools which maintain arbitrary and

³¹ E. A. Betts, "Remedial Reading Procedures," *Elementary English Review*, 1935, pp. 25-32, 48.

inflexible standards derived from averages which exemplify typical educational practice. It is on the basis of these fixed standards that large numbers of children are reported as remedial cases in reading. While most of these cases may be easily attributed to the fact that such children simply did not get the desired start in reading in the primary grades it has been pointed out that emotional factors also inhibit progress at this older level. The emotional factors that investigators have pointed out as interfering with progress in reading are highly related to the social attitudes, behavior, and conflicts reported in Chapter 2. There is evidence that the pattern of resistance to adult standards may be involved in the resistance poor readers show toward reading progress. The rejection on the part of the parents of the child who does not measure up to their expectations may also be involved in the child's reading disability. The fact that significantly more boys than girls are reported as reading problems re-emphasizes the point that gang loyalties and adult resistance are more pronounced in boys. Apparently if children do not learn to read during the years when adult approval is highly desired by them, the later emotional conflicts with adult standards become a factor in their reading progress.

Reading disabilities seem related to emotional difficulties. The chapter concerning the changing social status of older children pointed out the bases for many conflicts during later childhood. For some children it is a period of maladjustment owing to the conflict in standards between the gang and the family, the gang and the school, the child and his gang, and between boys and girls. Behavior problems appear to reach their height at this level. During these years the child may feel rejected by his parents if not actually be rejected by them. Sherman ³² in analyzing a large number of older chil-

³² Mandel Sherman, "Emotional Disturbance and Reading Disability," *Recent Trends in Reading*, edited by W. S. Gray (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939).

dren (nine to thirteen) with reading disability points out that an extremely large percentage of them also presented family difficulties and misunderstanding. The majority of these children also brought to the clinic a record of school behavior difficulties. He finds many common emotional problems of older children with reading disability. They show indifference to the problem of failure and emphasize some skill or interest as compensating for school inadequacy. There were many instances in which even a slight reading defect caused withdrawal from effort and, in some cases, resulted in emotional disturbance. Some of these children became behavior and disciplinary problems as a result of these emotional upheavals. There was antagonism to academic problems and a defensive reaction to any activity related to school. Many poor readers refused to improve reading as a bid for attention and as a mark of differentiation. Failure for these children had become synonymous with personal attention. It will be noted that most of these emotional problems either reflect resistance to the accepted pattern or a bid for status.

Preston³³ in comparing readers with non-readers or reading failures points out that a significantly large percentage of the reading failures shows social insecurity. This insecurity is expressed by misbehavior on the playground and in the classroom, suspicion and antagonism toward the teacher and the readers. She points out, however, that not all non-readers were aggressive; some showed opposite characteristics. Social security improved upon advancement in reading. This author also made a study³⁴ of 100 children who had normal intelligence and no physical defects but who were reading failures. These children were in grades two to ten. She describes how the reaction of parents to reading failure played a striking part in the maladjustment of these children. Fail-

³³ Mary I. Preston, "Reading Failure and the Child's Security," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1940, pp. 239-252.

³⁴ Mary I. Preston, "The Reaction of Parents to Reading Failure," *Child Development*, 1939, pp. 173-179.

ure in arithmetic or any other skill or ability seemed acceptable to parents. Failure in reading was not similarly acceptable. Regardless of socio-economic level or educational level the attitude of parents was such as to upset the security of the child. Particularly after the child was eight or nine years of age, the parents' emotional attitude reflected that the fault was primarily in the child because of his wilfulness, lack of care, or dumbness. The parents' attitude toward 85 per cent of these reading failures was such that learning was seriously hampered. Interviews with the children showed them to be under a serious emotional strain because of this conflict with parents and the resulting guilt feelings. It seems likely that these children do not have the emotional freedom to attend to their school work. Perhaps they are showing a deep-seated resentment of their parents.

Other workers in pointing out the various factors in the maladjustment of children have recognized the emotional factor in social adjustment as it is related to educational achievement. In his study of the differences in accepted and rejected children Symonds³⁵ found that the majority of rejected cases failed to establish desirable skills in school or in sports. An earlier part of the present section has pointed out that parental rejection is frequently found during the years of later childhood and is often felt by children who are not actually rejected. In discussing the reaction of school work to emotions, Levy and Monroe³⁶ say that good intelligence and good physique and good schools can produce good scholastic results only among children who are able to enjoy school work:

Boys and girls get their motive power to concentrate and study not from their intelligence but from their feelings. If they are worried, angry or unhappy they cannot, no matter how hard they try, put their intelligence to work. (p. 289)

³⁵ Percival M. Symonds, *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships* (New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939).

³⁶ John Levy and Ruth Monroe, *The Happy Family* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1938), pp. 289, 295.

A number of cases are then described where intelligence is high yet not free to function owing to insecurity and the lack of a sense of well-being. The authors explain that to a lay observer these children appear to lack only good work habits, but that the lack of these habits is an effect, not a cause of their difficulties:

The cause is in their mixed feelings. Attempts to apply pressure of a disciplinary or tutorial nature is likely to result in an intensification of feelings of frustration and defeat. These emotional difficulties are usually, at school age, due to parental attitudes. (p. 295)

Liss³⁷ has shown how learning difficulties are frequently a part of the pathological picture in mental illness. From an analysis of a number of cases he concludes that academic achievement may be used by the individual to satisfy basic emotional needs. At points of stress in the individual's development, school achievement may be used as a means of dominance or compensation for physical or social defects and inefficiency. In these cases the lack of family approval and security formed an almost uniform background for those individuals who used school achievement or failure in such achievement as a means of getting security or approval. He states that changes in methods have not eliminated school failure, particularly in reading, and suggests that the cause may be largely an emotional one to be found in the emotional connections which are between the school as a whole—teachers, children, materials, and tasks—and the pattern of values and resistances the child brings to the school. The study of changing social status of older children suggests that a major pattern of resistance to school values is the resistance the child's group or gang makes to all adult standards.

Studies have been brought together in the preceding paragraphs to show that there are emotional factors in many cases of reading disability and in other aspects of educational achievement. It has been pointed out how closely these emo-

³⁷ Edward Liss, "Learning: Its Sadistic and Masochistic Manifestations," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1940, pp. 123-129.

tional factors correspond to the social maladjustments commonly found during later childhood. Failure to make progress in the use of the intellectual skills may in this respect be related to the changing social status of these older children. Failure to achieve expected status in school seems closely related to the conflicts centering about the rejection of adult values.

Remedial measures less effective at this period. The use of special remedial reading procedures does not seem to be particularly effective at this level according to Millard.³⁸ He suggests that the problem is too complicated to be solved by just supplying better or special instruction. His study carefully controlled the same group of children for some years but failed to discover a relation between differences in rate of reading development and variations in teaching methods of the several teachers the children had. Records of remedial help given were, unfortunately not too accurate. He concluded, however, that deviations in patterns of growth in reading skill often appear without relation to the specific type of teaching that the child is experiencing. He believes learning or failure to learn is a product of some factor other than the teaching. He suggests attention to the factors of maturation and growth as a basis for setting up individual standards for achievement in reading. Here we have again an indication of the possible faultiness of fixed standards. We would add to this study the suggestion that attention also be given to the changing social status and accompanying emotional upset as factors.

To summarize: the development of the intellectual skills, particularly reading, shows rapid growth in the variety and amount of reading done during these years. There is some evidence that they exceed those of individuals at all other growth cycles in this respect. The majority of these children

³⁸ C. V. Millard, "The Nature and Character of Pre-Adolescent Growth in Reading Development," *Child Development*, Vol. II (Feb., 1940), pp. 71 and 114.

have had their basic development in reading during those years when adult approval was a strong motivating force. During later childhood they may use wide reading as a means of seeking reality or enlarging their concepts of causal relations. This use of reading would assist them in gaining some independence from adults. It is also likely that a certain amount of freedom is experienced vicariously in the reading of adventure stories.

The concern of the school and parents for fixed standards of reading accomplishment may account for the reporting of a great many children during these years as reading problems. Some of the analyses of children's reading difficulties during these years have revealed that these problems are complicated by accompanying emotional difficulties that show a close relationship to the difficulties and conflicts children of this age experience in their efforts to achieve a new social status.

Summary. Intellectual development and its relations to conduct. This chapter has brought together evidence of the child's changing intellectual status. Some relationships of that changing status to the social attitudes and behavior frequently found among older children have been proposed. (1) The majority of these children make rapid gains in seeking reality. Their interest in science, invention, and mechanical operations is very high. The fantasies and fears of childhood are largely overcome. There is reason to believe that the realistic understanding and growing interest in a larger world draws the child away from more intimately personal interests and relationships. It may be that the authority relationships of the earlier years are being subjected to the same objective experimentation as other aspects of the environment.

(2) These children appear capable of using causal relationships effectively in their thinking about physical, mechanical, and natural phenomena. The assurance that this new control over his environment brings the child may be related to the

independence he shows from adults. The evidence that is available indicates that children during these years do not have an adequate concept of time. To the extent that the values in many of our social relationships depend upon the ability to see remote consequences, these children may not be able to comprehend them. They probably do not effectively apply causal thinking to behavior and social values.

(3) For most children these years are marked by wide reading and rapid general educational achievement. The amount of leisure reading done at this level probably exceeds that of any other period. Through reading these children are able to satisfy their interest in the world about them without depending to any great extent upon critical adults. Reading may also provide an indirect means of achieving freedom from the physical and social restrictions imposed by adults. This period of development also corresponds to those years of schooling in which reading difficulties have been most frequently reported. The emotional difficulties described as representative of children during these years seems to be a factor in many cases of reading disability. These emotional problems appear to center about the conflict between parents, other adults, and these children.

The educational implications of this change from fantasy to reality in the child's thinking, his increased ability to see causal relations, and his rapid growth in the use of the reading skills are great. These facts point out what type of material can be used and how it can best be utilized. This study is more concerned, however, in the implication these facts have for the personal and social integration of these youngsters. If school subjects were so organized as to include the personal and social problems of these children rather than the chronological organization of history or the logical organization of geography, opportunity could be provided for these boys and girls to use their abilities to be realistic and begin to see the causal relations in human behavior. They are now ready to accept the factors in their immediate en-

vironment in a realistic fashion. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, Section B, guided experimentation and study of human relationships may better be introduced at this point than during adolescence when personal adjustment has the added difficulty of biological adjustment.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Report observed cases or incidents in which children are clearly struggling to establish the difference between fantasy and reality. "Could it really happen?", "Is magic true?", etc.

2. Note discussions of the sign posts in stories, novels, and other non-technical publications.

3. Make a sociometric analysis or other study to determine what personal qualities children of this age desire in their friends. If possible, make comparisons of children younger and older than the group here treated.

4. What is the guidance for parents and teachers in the fact that children persistently ask questions about their physical environment, wish to explore it and experiment with it?

1. The present chapter has indicated that children of this age group could probably deal with materials of a scientific nature much more extensively than is the common practice in the "middle" grades. A committee from the class should examine recent courses of study or curriculum guides for these school years to determine the emphasis placed upon the natural and physical sciences and the nature of the understandings or concepts recommended for these years. In addition, such a committee might examine recent textbooks in elementary education for teachers-in-training to determine what these authorities recommend as a science program for the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Such books as *Growth and Learning in the Elementary School* by Huggett and Millard, *The Child and His Curriculum* by Lee and Lee, and *Education in the Elementary School* by Caswell and Foshay would probably be most helpful.

2. It would be interesting for certain class members to examine the achievement of children of this age level as measured by objective tests. Many schools give tests and keep records of achievement in several skills and subject areas for children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. When arranged in tabular form, these test results could be examined to compare the achievement of the boys with the girls. The present chapter has indicated that girls probably do better in school during these years because of their increased maturity. It would also be interesting to note the range in any one class group in the basic intel-

lectual skills. These test results could also be analyzed to see if there are more "remedial" cases among boys than among girls.

3. Observe, as in the Baker study, free discussion periods for an extended period of time and note to what extent you can duplicate Baker's general findings. Note any significant differences.

4. Review in detail the Deutsche study. Also those by Croxton and by Sanford. Summarize the implications for teaching and the implications for curriculum content.

5. Find and review several studies dealing with children's time sense.

6. Ask a number of children to tell you orally or in writing what is meant by the expressions: long, long ago; a long time ago; once upon a time; in olden days; many, many years ago. Summarize and interpret what you find.

1. Summarize from literature the arguments for and against the hypothesis that emotional difficulties and disturbances interfere with learning to read and with reading.

2. Consult current summaries quickly to see if Millard's study has any supporting material in the literature of reading.

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6

The General Characteristics of Preadolescence

The method of this study was to explore the available scientific literature in all those fields which deal with the child from ages nine to twelve. These findings were then classified in terms of an organization which would reveal information about the social and personal characteristics of these children. There is enough evidence to propose that during these years most individuals develop characteristics which distinguish them from individuals at other levels of development, characteristics of such importance that there appears to be some basis for considering these years as a distinct cycle in human development. For convenience this phase of development has been labeled "later childhood." In the child development literature these particular years are most commonly included in a broader period designated as "childhood," "elementary school age," or the "latency period." These designations are usually used in reference to the age span six to twelve. As this study uses the term, "later childhood" refers roughly to the last three of these years, nine to twelve.

Students of growth and development have long identified certain broad periods during the life span which possess somewhat distinctive characteristics. These periods are not sharply defined, and they vary greatly among individuals. Transition from one to another covers a period of time which also varies in length among individuals. All children pass through the same basic series of developmental tasks but not at the same rate. These limitations in describing develop-

mental periods apply to the present proposal. Rough as these broad periods are, they do suggest general needs which should be observed at particular times.

Although "later childhood" cannot be defined with reference to precise age level, it can be described in terms of characteristic behavior. Unlike the commonly recognized periods of growth these years do not exhibit any startling *physical* changes. Those changes that do take place are gradual and undramatic. The more significant characteristics are *social*, *emotional*, and *intellectual* in nature. The behavior that appears to be characteristic at this level seems to be largely a result of the social situation in which children at this age are placed. This cycle of development is not a natural one to the extent that it depends greatly on physical changes or inherent psychological development, but appears to be largely culturally imposed.

SECTION A

THE PERIOD IS ONE OF STRONG CULTURAL IMPOSITION

An analysis of certain anthropological data showed that in cultures unlike our own in respect to the treatment of older children, the behavior of individuals during later childhood was correspondingly different. There seems to be a relationship between the behavior of these children in our society and certain cultural factors. (1) The length of the socialization period appears to inflict a peculiar stress upon later childhood by the postponement of immediate satisfactions and by continued physical restrictions. (2) Strong gang loyalties may be a means of masculine identification for boys of this age owing to the strong maternal influence in the home and predominantly feminine influence in the school. (3) The presence of many cultural patterns in our society may account for some of the confusion among these children as to acceptable standards of conduct.

The social class structure of our society may also operate in such a way as to influence the behavior and social relations of individuals during the years of later childhood. (1) Lower-class children may "regress" from the kind of social conformity that the schools sponsor because these lower-class children seem to realize at about this age that the goals of "good" behavior are for them unrealistic. (2) Middle- and upper-class children may resist the behavior pattern imposed upon them at this age because of the remoteness of the rewards for such behavior. (3) Middle- and upper-class parents are greatly concerned over any failure of their children to maintain the symbols of their class status. Anxiety on the part of these children as a result of this adult pressure for social conformity may contribute to the aggression and resistance these children exhibit toward adults. (4) These older children of the upper classes may choose to imitate their age mates of the lower class because the lower-class child usually has certain symbols of superior status: freedom to explore a larger environment without adult supervision, freedom of experience many forms of aggression, and access to sexual information. (5) The conflicts between these children and adults over standards of behavior and social conformity apparently accounts for much of the typical behavior as well as some of the maladjustments of older children.

Most of the distinguishing characteristics of later childhood seem to result from the reaction of these children to the social situation in which they are placed. To the extent that this period is socially imposed it will be recognized that some individuals may progress through these years rather smoothly while others will experience disturbing conflicts. As in other cycles of development, the adjustment of the individual depends largely upon the extent to which controlling adults grant the individual his own status, a status based on the inherent possibilities of the developmental period.

*SECTION B***A TENTATIVE LIST OF CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE PERIOD**

The following list of characteristics has been drawn from the evidence available about these children as presented in the body of this study. The purpose of presenting these generalizations is to bring out those factors that seem to distinguish these children from the immediately younger and older groups. To the extent that these characteristics are unique the years of later childhood can be considered a cycle in human development. It should also be remembered that these characteristics are proposed upon the basis of agreements that come from the scattered research and the interpretations of that research. Not all of the following descriptions are equally well substantiated; none of them can be considered final; all of them should have further investigation. On this tentative basis the following characteristics are presented:

- I. The social attitudes and behavior of children during later childhood distinguish them from other levels of development.
 - A. The rejection of adult standards appears to be an underlying attitude affecting much of their behavior.
 1. The social courtesies, habits of orderliness, and respect for the teacher found among the primary children often disappear in the intermediate grades.
 2. A peak of unruliness in school appears at about nine or ten years of age.
 3. Parents report a breakdown in established habits of obedience, cleanliness, punctuality, speech, and courtesy during these years.
 4. Disobedience in school and in the home is the

common complaint of parents bringing their children to child guidance centers.

5. Unacceptable behavior is reported more frequently for boys at this age than for girls.
6. Projective techniques have indicated that during these years resistance to socialization increases in the child's inner thought life as revealed in his fantasies.
7. The resistance toward adults appears to be a form of doubting adult authority rather than a mere objection to interference with the child's pleasures.
8. The rejection of adult standards appears to be a deep-seated reaction among these children.
 - a. Psychiatrists report that the individual therapeutic relationship with children at this level is especially difficult, and that these children reveal themselves more readily in the group techniques of psychiatry.
 - b. Neurotic symptoms have been attributed to this resistance pattern.
9. Many children during these years are rejected by their parents or may feel rejected because of the conflicts over behavior and authority relations.
 - a. Delinquency begins more often during these years than during adolescence.
 - b. Parental rejection is the background for such delinquency and many behavior and nervous disorders.
 - c. Parental rejection affects adversely the attitudes and behavior of these children towards adults.
- B. Sex differentiation becomes sharp among children at this age resulting in antagonism and often open hostility between the sexes. Antagonism may be more apparent than real toward the end of the period.

1. Girls choose girls and boys choose boys almost exclusively in their play and leisure activities. Sex differences in play interests are at a maximum during these years.
 2. Sociometric techniques reveal that these boys and girls would also prefer to work separately in school.
 3. A great amount of bickering, teasing, and noisy behavior accompanied the efforts of these boys and girls to work or play together.
 4. Boys of this age prefer courage, competence in games, and aggressiveness to other characteristics of their age mates. They place no high value on cleanliness, orderliness, or quietness. Among girls, aggressive boisterous behavior is often disapproved.
 5. During these years the developmental age of girls is in advance of that of boys of the same chronological age.
 - a. This characteristic is subject, of course, to individual variations but there is general agreement that the developmental advancement of girls over boys is at least one year.
 - b. Girls appear to receive more satisfaction from those activities on which the schools place high value. As a group they are more successful in those activities requiring language skill.
 - c. Boys exhibit more of the rebellious attitude than do girls toward assigned tasks, routines, and social conformity.
- C. Strong attachments for others of the same age and sex are formed during these years.
1. The major source of motivation for the later childhood period seems to be the approval of members of a small group alike in age and sex. These childhood gangs prefer to set up their own

standards and values rather than to imitate adults or older groups.

2. The gangs of later childhood have certain characteristics which distinguish them from the groups formed at other age levels.
 - a. Their membership is limited to individuals of the same age and sex.
 - b. The number of members is usually small, seldom exceeding eight, usually numbering five.
 - c. Gang membership is unstable; a child may change gangs readily, or the gang may withdraw association from any one of its members readily.
 - d. Leadership within the gang is not often centered in one individual.
 - e. These gangs are secretive in some of their activities—secret language, codes, rites, meeting places, behavior codes, etc.
 - f. Most commonly these groups do not have a name or any stated purpose.
 - g. Gangs at this age resist direct adult supervision.
 - h. Team games are not highly successful within the gang until toward the close of this developmental period.
 - i. If a child's behavior is acceptable, economic difference, social position, race, and religion are unimportant in friendships and gangs unless home pressure is applied.
3. Dress, possessions, and activities of these children must be like those of their gang to be "right" in their estimation.
4. Group formation during these years appears to be a result of the need for status and recognition rather than of increased capacity for genuine social consciousness.
5. Girls' groups at this age are less well organized,

more unstable in membership, and less conspicuous than boy groups.

II. Slow growth in body bulk and in organ and glandular development mark these years. Increased physical endurance and muscular development distinguish later childhood.

A. Physical growth in all its aspects is usually slow and gradual.

1. Children during these years are not sharply distinguished from the immediately younger group by any rapidly changing or distinct physical characteristics. They are readily distinguished from the next older group by the growth spurt accompanying puberty.
2. The majority of these children continue to gain in all general proportions a little each year as they did when they were younger. A few girls and even fewer boys make large weight and height gains as an indication of approaching adolescence.
3. The period for relatively least growth in height is from nine to ten years for girls and from ten to eleven years for boys.
4. Organ and glandular balance is about the same at the end of these years as it was at the beginning except for the minority of early maturers.
5. Most children are relatively freer from disease at this age than at any other growing period.
6. There is a clearly observable characteristic of girls on the average to grow at a faster tempo than boys. This difference in tempo of development may also be present in intelligence, learning, and in social interests.

B. Increased muscular development and resistance to fatigue make new skills and activities possible.

1. Strenuous physical activity usually differentiates these children from younger ones.

2. The development of the large muscles makes participation in strenuous activities possible.
 - a. During these years interest increases in organized games.
 - b. The peak of variety in individual play activities is reached at about the age of ten.
 - c. Bicycling, skating, and swimming can be engaged in with safety and satisfaction.
 - d. Skills improve in softball, soccer, and loosely organized football. These children are willing to practice to improve such skill.
 3. Increased control over accessory muscles makes possible many new skills.
 - a. These children are capable of the skill required in playing most musical instruments.
 - b. Drawing, writing, sewing, etc., can improve rapidly during these years.
 - c. Success at hobbies that require craftsmanship—model building, carving, radio, etc.—is possible at this age.
 4. Sex differences become more noticeable both in interests and behavior. Boys like rough and tumble play, girls generally do not. Distinctions are drawn between what skills are appropriate for each sex.
 5. It is probably the last growing period in which girls are interested in vigorous physical activity.
- III. Increasing intellectual development affords new relationships between these children and their total environment.
- A. Reality-seeking marks their relationship to the physical world as well as their relationship with others.
1. The range of interests of these older children is not so distinguishable from the younger group as is the depth of their interests. Commonplace

events and objects apparently take on more significant meaning.

2. These children appear to be avid for information not only about their immediate environment and their own problems but for matters well removed from them in place location.
 3. They have a great interest in facts, and are interested in what things are made of and how they work. Interest in science, invention, and mechanics is likely to reach its height before adolescence.
 4. During the years of later childhood the child's concepts of natural laws and physical relationships may become almost fully developed.
 5. Children's reading interests indicate their concern for reality. Preferences in reading at this level are for factual materials, scientific and mechanical information, and fiction with a realistic theme.
 6. These children seem to have a heightened curiosity about the facts of reproduction as they approach the age of eleven.
 - 7. A sharp distinction between work and play is made by children at this level.
 8. While children of this age have a well developed imagination, highly imaginative play or games almost disappear during these years.
 9. Early imaginative fears are discarded by children near the beginning of this cycle of development. Their expressed fears are of realistic dangers.
 10. These children apparently become less affectionate and less sympathetic in their relations with others as a part of their concern for realism and objectivity.
- B. Using causal relationships in their thinking about many matters distinguishes the thought life of these older children.
1. These years are marked by a more rapid increase

in the ability to use causal relations in thinking about physical, mechanical, and natural phenomena than at any other growth period.

- a. Children at this age think as logically about matters of physical causation as do adolescents.
- b. These children are definitely superior to primary children in their ability to generalize.
2. At about ten years of age most children are becoming more aware of and concerned about other persons' ideas and beliefs.
3. Children at this age begin to contrast the present with the past and are beginning to be curious about the people and living conditions of long ago.
4. At this level children are probably not capable of comprehending the causal relations in human conduct because of the time concept involved.
 - a. It is not until the end of this period that these children have a concept of time which makes the chronological study of history meaningful.
 - b. These children are more concerned with immediate cause and effect relationships and current happenings.
- C. Using the intellectual skills effectively, particularly reading, distinguishes the activities of later childhood. The failure to develop this ability often involves the social status of older children.
 1. Most nine-year-olds have developed a reading facility which enables them to read for information and enjoyment. The average eleven-year-old child has the reading skill equal to that of the average adult.
 2. The amount and variety of leisure reading is greater during the years of later childhood than during any other growing period and probably equal to that of adults.

- a. Reading seems to satisfy some of the zest for adventure among children in later childhood.
 - b. Increased reading ability at this age enables the child to share vicariously the experiences of others removed from him in time and space.
 - c. Reading becomes a tool that the child uses in his search for reality and causal relations.
 - d. These children learn with little difficulty to use source materials—dictionaries, encyclopedias, maps, indices, etc.
3. Reading disability at this time in the child's life may become so pronounced that it influences his personality development.
- a. School progress begins to depend upon using reading in the grade levels of later childhood.
 - b. The largest number of retarded readers is reported for this age group.
 - c. Many cases of reading difficulty at this level become more involved because of the changing social status of these children.
 - d. Improvement in reading skill or general educational achievement may depend upon a satisfactory adjustment in the child's relationship to adults and other children.

SECTION C

THE DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF LATER CHILDHOOD

A group of professional workers known as the Committee on Human Development, at the University of Chicago, have been evolving for several years the concept of developmental tasks as a means of providing a framework within which they could organize knowledge about human behavior and make application of this information in dealing with children in school. In doing so, they have divided the growth period into five cycles, each of which apparently has certain guideposts

which distinguish growth at that level from growth or development at other levels. These workers have given the term "late childhood" to a period of growth which corresponds very closely to the years with which the present study is concerned. The Committee has not yet published all the data which support these so-called "developmental tasks" in detail, but in a recent yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development they have summarized these developmental tasks.

As one analyzes the developmental tasks attributed by this Committee at Chicago to the "late childhood" period, he is struck by the similarity of the developmental tasks to many of the tentative characteristics of this age group as proposed in the preceding sections of this chapter. The fact that two groups of workers, the Chicago Committee and the present authors, working independently, reach many of the same conclusions about these children seems to substantiate the findings of both groups of workers.

The following summary of the developmental tasks attributed to "late childhood" is adapted from the *1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development*. The tasks that apply only to the period of "late childhood" have been included in the quotation.

I. Achieving an Appropriate Dependence-Independence Pattern Late Childhood

Freeing one's self from primary identification with adults.

While the young child is working on the preceding task he is closely identified with adults. He has an unquestioning attitude toward authority, and does what he does essentially because "Mommie said" or "Teacher said." When he enters the period of late childhood a big step must be taken toward the achievement of an independent pattern of behavior. The child begins to realize that adults can be wrong. This realization probably comes as something of a shock to the child, but it is normally the basis for working on this developmental task. As adult fallibility becomes more and more apparent, the identification with adults becomes less and less strong. Identification with one's age-mates begins to take its place.

The result is the beginning of a rift between adults and children.

The child is coming to look on himself as a child and to look upon adults as adults. He begins to value the opinion of other children as much or even more than that of adults. The day of blind obedience to adult commands is passing.

This is the period of secrets. They seem to be mainly secrets-for-their-own-sake and are a fairly reliable indication that the child is working on this developmental task. He is asserting his importance as a child. He is saying: "I'm finding out that you grownups don't know everything, and we kids know plenty of things you don't know."

As he progresses with the job of freeing himself from blind faith in adults, he discovers that he, a child, actually has a right to discern alternatives and to make choices. He begins to recognize a threat to his freedom and translates it into a threat to himself as a person. However, to assert this right is no simple matter. He has lived quite a number of years in submission and obedience. He must exert special and considerable effort to alter old habits if he is eventually to achieve the independence we like to think of as the inheritance of all Americans.

If all goes as it should in his development, the child gradually begins to demand the right to make choices. Condemning him for being disobedient and rude may make him fight all the harder, but it may also make him give up, and the task may never be adequately worked through.

Wise teachers and parents are quick to recognize the child's growing desire to make choices; they help him by providing suitable opportunities. The difficult decisions of adolescence and maturity can be made much more easily if the child is given practice in making choices at this stage in his development.

II. Achieving an Appropriate Giving-Receiving Pattern of Affection Late Childhood

Learning to give as much love as one receives; forming friendships with peers.

If the child has progressed satisfactorily through the previous tasks in this area (in infancy he has learned to receive love, and in early childhood he has begun to learn to give love), he is now ready to perfect his ability to give affection. Affectional relationships now include animals as well as people, age-mates as well as adults, teachers and other outside adults as well as members of the family. The child at this stage of development is learning to strike a balance between giving and receiving in affectional relations. Successful work in this task is evidenced by the child's ability to form friendships with age-mates. Peers demand that friends give as much as they receive. A child who has not received sufficient love in infancy is now at a very serious disadvantage. To make friends on a basis of equality necessitates deep feelings of security such as can be formed only in infancy.

III. Relating to Changing Social Groups

Late Childhood

1. *Clarifying the adult world as over and against the child's world.*

The child at this stage must begin to sever his strong ties with adults and must begin to build ties with his peers. In the past his chief interest has been in pleasing adults; now he must learn to meet peer standards. He must, for example, begin to talk and dress like his friends, perhaps in spite of what adults say. Instead of identifying only with adults, he must begin to identify with age-mates.

This is a difficult developmental task for the child because he has depended so long on adults. But if he does well at this task, he may progress to the point where, for example, he seriously resents it if his mother visits the school. The family, he feels, must be kept in its place.

Similarly, the teacher no longer plays a central rôle in his life. He may become resentful and openly defiant if the teacher's demands upon him contradict the demands of his peers.

2. *Establishing peer groupness and learning to belong.*

As the child begins to loosen his ties with adults, he must turn elsewhere for the security that is so essential for his healthy development. Accordingly, children begin to band together; in gangs they are able to give support to one another and to build a firm foundation for the strong anti-adult position they will assume as early adolescents.

Middle-class children seem to be frequently restrained from opportunities to participate in the creation of a peer group, the pillar upon which they must lean in their fight for independence. This is essentially because middle-class adults (including teachers) are inclined to take too much responsibility for children's recreation. Older children, for example, are not only capable of organizing their own games, but in doing so they improve their coöperative abilities. If they organize their games on a gang versus gang basis, they solidify their feelings of "belongingness." Adults should not fear this cliquishness at this stage. Indeed, human beings in America probably will never again belong to such democratic groups as the gangs formed in late childhood.

IV. Developing a Conscience

Late Childhood

Learning more rules and developing true morality.

With the decline in identification with adults and the growing identification with age-mates, there is a shift in the manner in which conscience develops. The peer world is a world of rules. There is a tremendous increase in interest in organized games, many of which have exceedingly complex systems of rules. Not only are there game rules; there are countless special non-adult rules governing life in general in the peer world. These rules must be internalized for true participation and acceptance. The rules sometimes imply not only consideration for the feelings and privileges of others, but also obliga-

tions toward others. There is open discussion of faults, and those who transgress the rules are quickly and severely punished.

As more and more rules are mastered and as the child continues to mature intellectually, true morality comes into being. Children learn to apply the abstract principles of fairness and unfairness, right and wrong. Such expressions as "That's not fair" and "It's wrong to do such-and-such" become commonplace in the conversation of children at the end of this stage of development.

V. Learning One's Psycho-Socio-Biological Sex Rôle Late Childhood

Beginning to identify with one's social contemporaries of the same sex. By this stage of development the average girl is physiologically a full year ahead of the average boy of the same chronological age. Boys and girls do not play freely together as they did in the previous stage. Instead, the "gang age" is one of sharp differentiation between the sexes; boys generally play with boys, girls generally play with girls. When boys and girls do organize themselves into games it is often "boys against the girls."

In such a social setting children have the task of learning to understand and to be like their sex mates. For boys this implies learning such behavior as expressing affection for pals by punching and "rassling"; to get along with the gang they must be good at poking, tripping, practical joking. The girls learn to express affection by putting their arms around each other. These who have high status with their peers are usually demure and sweet, although tomboy behavior may not be condemned.

The peer group taboos children, particularly boys, who are failing in this task. For example, the term "sissy" with its far-reaching psychological repercussions may be applied to the boy who has not successfully moved through the previous task and who is still strongly identified with adults.

VI. Accepting and Adjusting to a Changing Body Late Childhood

This is a period of relatively little bodily change. Sex interests are at their lowest ebb, and there is no real developmental task in this area at this time.

VII. Managing a Changing Body and Learning New Motor Patterns Late Childhood

Refining and elaborating skill in the use of the small muscles. There is little bodily change in this period. The finer muscles of hands and fingers are now sufficiently developed so that the child is able to undertake learnings that require a large degree of manual dexterity, such as writing, sewing, and woodwork. Eye muscles are now sufficiently developed to enable the child to learn to read. (In many schools,

reading is introduced too early; many a reading failure is due to physiological immaturity.)

VIII. Learning to Understand and Control the Physical World Late Childhood

Learning more realistic ways of studying and controlling the physical world.

As the child gradually learns *how* to handle objects and comes to understand *why* he cannot touch certain things, the adult "do-not-touch" becomes much less significant in his life. At the same time he is able to free himself from such strong reliance on fantasy and questioning. He becomes ready to take on the job of realistic experimenter in the world about him and in his own right.

Nothing escapes the personal notice of the child who is working hard on this task. He is physicist, zoölogist, social scientist, chemist, astronomer, engineer all rolled into one. What he cannot pick up he climbs on and pokes into; what he can pick up he puts into his pocket, waiting for "spare time" to make an examination behind the open top of his school desk during "social studies." As preparation for adult life in the machine age, the boy especially is likely to develop a burning interest in mechanical things. He makes; he manipulates; he sees how it works.

By means of experimentation, he is able to perfect his abilities to perceive weight, space, and time. (In regard to time, of course, an hour playing ball is much shorter than an hour spent in social studies class.)

IX. Developing an Appropriate Symbol System and Conceptual Abilities Late Childhood

1. *Learning to use language actually to exchange ideas and to influence one's hearers.*

The child must now move away from his early egocentricity. He must really start to converse with others, to consider their points of view, and to address himself to them. At this period he has the job of establishing real bonds with his age-mates, and such bonds cannot be founded on purely egocentric communication. Children at this stage are commencing to understand and to be interested in the problems of other people, if these problems are not too dissimilar from those they themselves have experienced.

At this time they should also be learning to manipulate written symbols. In spoken language, sentence structure improves.

2. *Beginning to understand real causal relations.*

The questions now asked by boys and girls frequently involve true causal relationships. Their conversation is no longer restricted to noting observable changes in objects that may be related to each other. They begin to grasp the notion that "effect" involves more than can be observed directly.

Still, reasoning about what is not observable represents shaky ground for children at this level. In answering questions posed by others, children are still apt to think of "cause" in terms of things they have noticed at the same time. "Why did the pebble sink into the water?" teacher asks Johnnie. "Because it is white," he says. As times goes on, however, Johnnie must improve his ability to understand true causal relationships. Soon he will be seeing "mechanical relations"; he will say that the wind moves the clouds. Later he will be using more scientific and more logical deductions.

In late childhood the focus of attention continues to be on action and movement. But there is progress in the child's notion of consciousness. Now only bodies that can move of their own accord are looked upon as conscious, while objects that receive their movement from without are considered devoid of consciousness. Thus, for example, the child knows that his bicycle is not conscious; it cannot move itself.

3. *Making finer conceptual distinctions and thinking reflectively.*

During this stage there is great improvement in the child's ability to use symbols for things he has never experienced. He also grows in his ability to differentiate between the absolute and the relative. He grasps fairly complex differences in degree when the ideas evoke clear and vivid images. Thus he should be able to reason: Boys are stronger than girls, but an *older* girl can knock down a *younger* boy.

At the same time he is perfecting his ability to separate the personal from the impersonal. He still has a tendency to fall back into the "security of the personal," but he is becoming able to reflect objectively about the outside world and other people. He realizes that the behavior of his friends has complex motivation. Thus, for example, if Bobby should say, "I just want a small dinner today," Jimmy may accuse him, "You're doing that so you can get finished sooner and get more dessert than I do!"

The child in this period is also learning to apply concepts of right and wrong. As noted in the area of conscience development, he is forming in his associations with age-mates clear notions of what is fair, what is honest, what is right.

X. Relating One's Self to the Cosmos

Late Childhood

Developing a scientific approach.

The child's notion of his place in the cosmos probably does not change much in this period. However, in the area of concept formation he is beginning to comprehend true causal relationships and is developing a more realistic concept of the world. At the same time, in his approach to the physical world he is learning to value objective investigation. He no longer depends so strongly on adults for the answers to his "why" questions; instead, he relies on his own observation and experimentation.

His achievement of this scientific outlook will determine the way in which he eventually resolves the problems in this area.

An analysis of the foregoing set of developmental tasks which are proposed as unique during these years just preceding adolescence and the tentative characteristics for these years proposed in the preceding sections of this chapter reveals many common agreements about the particular needs and possibilities of older children. The major difference lies in the fact that the tasks proposed by the Chicago Committee are characteristic of children at an earlier age than the data in the present study would substantiate. It is recognized, however, that no attempt is made by the Chicago Committee or the present writers to set rigid age limits for any cycle of growth. It is recognized by both groups that all individuals must accomplish these developmental tasks in order to be prepared for the next level of development. It is also recognized that girls as a group will exhibit the characteristics of these years earlier than boys. It seems likely that the personal and social integration of boys during these years is more difficult than that of girls.

This section has summarized the developmental tasks of "late childhood" as proposed by the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago. This summary has been included as a means of further substantiating the proposed characteristics in the preceding section and as further justification for recognizing "late childhood" as a unique cycle in human development.

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS, AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Make a detailed analysis of one or more courses of study or other documentary aids for teachers to show wherein they are adapted to the characteristics of later childhood as summarized in this chapter.
 2. Make a similar analysis for any teaching-learning organizations available such as series of assignments or source units or teaching units.
 3. Observe a given class group in grade four, five, or six for sufficient time and make a report similar to those made on the literature above.
- Pay particular attention in all this to the recognition of the development task sequence and concepts or the lack of them.

7

Guiding the Development of the Preadolescent

The previous chapter has summarized the available evidence pointing toward the conclusion that the years of later childhood constitute a unique period of human development in our culture. A series of personal and social characteristics were proposed on a tentative basis which distinguish these years. If adults are to utilize these characteristics in guiding the development of children, just what procedures and practices can be recommended?

A LIST OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The following principles and corollary practices are recommended for dealing with children at this level. They are drawn from those suggestions for guidance that have appeared throughout this study. Some of them are based upon the various investigators' interpretations of their own findings, others upon the interpretation of those findings by the present writers. All of these principles have had previous discussion in the body of this study.

- I. The environment of children at this level should be so arranged as to provide for their increasing independence from adult domination.
- A. Children's basic emotional relations tend to have different degrees of importance at different developmental levels. *Security* in the family seems the greatest social need in infancy and early childhood. Self-expression and *self-development* become of primary

importance in later childhood. *Social adjustment* takes the fore during adolescence and adulthood.

- B. Freedom for these children should be provided in such a way as to continue the security the child feels in his family relations. There is a tendency for adults to resent the natural conduct of later childhood.
1. Parents and other adults should avoid the appearance of rejection as a result of the changing attitudes and behavior of children at this level. The child who feels rejected is likely to exhibit extreme forms of behavior or delinquent conduct.
 2. Adults must realize that the child is undergoing inner conflicts as a result of his efforts to live up to two sets of standards, those of his peers and those of his home and school. His feelings about each will fluctuate. The home and school must be available with the security they offer when the child seeks it.
 3. Adults should remember that much of the behavior they expect of these children is related to maintaining their own social class status and that the child's concept of time is probably inadequate in understanding the long range implications of such status.
 4. Adults should be able to accept without too great concern types of behavior that seem foolish and unreasonable and to take an interest in aspects of life they have long since rejected.
 5. Children from nine to twelve are ready for a widening of social contacts, with guests in the home and visits to the homes of friends and playmates.
 6. Experiences should be provided so that the child can find expression of his desire for independence without harm (trips alone to relatives and friends, gang adventures, decisions about property, etc.).

7. Out-of-family experiences should be provided for these children in the community by means of club membership, activities with various community enterprises, and personal responsibilities.
8. Daily routines should be kept free of moral issues so that the observation or forgetting of them does not enter into the pattern of rebellion often exhibited by these children.
9. Family and school routines may be found more acceptable if the child of this age is allowed to make his own kind of arrangements.
10. What often appears to be irresponsibility, instability, disobedience, and restlessness may be due to the child's efforts to find an area for self-expression.
11. The immature and inadequate forms of expressing independence may be considered a desirable step in the direction of self-reliance.

C. Growth in independence appears to be one of the chief values accruing from membership in a gang.

1. Such membership may give the child psychological support for expressing himself in adult situations.
2. Gang friends make relatively fewer demands upon the individual that are not coöperatively determined.
3. For some children the gang provides an escape from over-solicitude.
4. The gang provides opportunity for wider expression of self.
5. Gang secrets and activities give a child a feeling of importance.

6. Ability or readiness to feel a part of the group depends upon the child's security in the home.

7. The tendency to assume or reject certain rôles in the group seems to depend upon the pattern of

subordination, over-protection, or rejection found in the home.

- D. The school and home have opportunity to help children at this age grow in independence from adult domination.
1. The interest these children have in setting up their own standards can be utilized in planning and participating in the activities of the school, and of the family.
 2. The small spontaneously formed groups of age-sex mates may be a desirable basis for accomplishing some of the coöperative activities of the school and home.
 3. These children are more likely to accept the purposes, decisions, and activities of school and home if they have had a part in the selection and planning of these activities. Adult-imposed activities in school or home are subject to the pattern of rebellion these children often exhibit toward adults.
 4. Because of the child's disregard for adult standards, school success might better be achieved by more immediate forms of reward than the artificial rewards based on standards of achievement or the emphasis upon future values and status. Coöperation in the home follows the same pattern.
 5. Since the task of winning peer recognition is such a powerful force in organizing the behavior and attitudes of these children, the school and home should make provision for individuals to gain success in group relations.
 - a. A democratic school and family group with opportunities for coöperative planning on the part of children and teacher will help the rejected child find a place in the group as a valued individual.
 - b. The teacher and parent may find in the chil-

dren's success or failure in school work an indication of the achievement of individuals in winning status with their peers.

- c. The teacher or parent may help the child gain a place in the peer group by giving him assistance in developing special interests of significance to the group.
 - d. The school and home should provide recreational outlets for children in order that they may find satisfaction in additional group living.
6. Disabilities in academic subjects, particularly reading, may be used as a means of showing disregard for adult values.
- a. Extreme adult concern over reading disability at a time when the child's status with his gang is very important may result in an emotional conflict that further retards progress in reading.
 - b. Efforts to improve reading or any of the other intellectual skills should probably not interfere with the opportunities the child has for establishing himself with children of his own age and sex.
 - c. The child's security with adults should not rely heavily upon conformity to fixed school standards.
 - d. Motivation for improving school skills during these years probably depends upon the extent to which these skills have functional value for the child in meeting situations of immediate concern to him.
- E. Physically these children are capable of carrying on many activities that will give them increasing independent status.
- 1. Opportunities should be made available for these children to take responsibilities commensurate with their new physical skill.

2. Provisions should be made for children at this level to develop interests and activities in crafts and hobbies.
- F. Intellectually these children are capable of many independent activities.
1. Their interest in science, invention, and physical phenomena should be utilized in helping them gain a realistic conception of their environment.
 2. Opportunities should be provided for experimentation and problem solving involving causal relations.
 3. The skill in reading of the majority of these children should allow them to become less dependent upon adults for understanding their environment.
- G. The success of this early striving for independence may in a large measure determine the child's reaction to further independence in adolescence and maturity.
- II. The social and developmental status of later childhood should be utilized for the development of moral judgment.
- A. These children should be allowed to make mistakes without causing undue excitement or evoking reference to moral values; they should experience some of the realities of cause and effect in human relationships.
1. The child should learn to do things because of the satisfaction of doing them without worrying about such virtues as responsibility or regularity as expressions of his fluctuating feelings toward the people around him.
 2. The standards set up by adults concerning private property, honesty, tidiness, and cleanliness are often put at a higher level than these children can normally attain, hence tensions and conflict result.
 3. Immediate cause and effect relationships are probably more effective with this age group than dis-

cussion of the values and morals involved in their behavior.

4. Providing experiences which bring these children to grips with reality is an effective way to contribute to the development of desirable personal evaluations and relations with the environment.
 5. The good habits and social conformity that have been acquired by imitation and the domination of adults in the immediately preceding years are being subjected to reality testing.
 6. Most children of this level are ready for a program that gives them many opportunities to make their own decisions and to face the consequences of their mistakes where these consequences are not too serious.
- B. The movement of the child away from almost complete dependence upon adult authority through the later childhood dependence upon the majority rule of his peers should be considered progress toward the capacity to "judge" situations for himself.
1. The child at this level is beginning to recognize that there may be more than one set of standards of right and wrong and to exercise some choice and judgment.
 2. The child in his gang is learning to deal with others on an equal footing.
 3. The gang teaches lessons that force consideration for others. These lessons are usually quite objective and impersonal. Faults are discussed openly and discipline is prompt and relentless.
 4. As the child's capacity to identify himself with others and to be interested in others grows, his capacity to judge situations on a wider basis probably grows.
 5. The guidance of gang activities will be more successful if it employs processes that are subtle and

indirect. These children are likely to respond to spontaneous and affectionate interest.

- a. Individual competition and the control of behavior by authority does not recognize the basic attitude of these children toward each other and toward adults.
 - b. There is need for regulation within the group but the adult's rôle is not one of restraint or too direct control.
 - c. Failure to provide any supervision of the activities of the gang or the rejection of the child because of his gang activities may result in delinquent behavior.
- C. In schools where effort is made to reach a better understanding of the older child, less emphasis will be placed upon adult standards of behavior as such, and more upon the leads which the child gives as the means of guiding him toward desirable moral development.
1. The center of instruction in the intermediate grades (fourth, fifth, and sixth) to develop social understanding should probably be organized around the problems and processes which are within the immediate experience of the child.
 2. School experiences should be selected so as to give these children an understanding of social realities.
- III. Opportunities for adjusting to the proper sex rôle should be provided for the individual during these years.
- A. The group or gang life at this age provides almost the sole opportunity children have for imaginal or play activities in which they can express masculinity or femininity.
1. A child whose growth pattern places him at the extremes either in size or functional maturity in his peer group—the accelerated or the delayed—

may face grave difficulties of behavioral adjustments in his group.

2. The ability to compete physically is closely associated with a child's achievement of confidence and his feeling of security in associating with his gang.
 3. Children at this level should be given help in developing those skills that will make them acceptable to their peers.
 - a. Most of these skills are those requiring competence in games and manual activities.
 - b. Some children will require guidance in assuming a more subordinating or a more dominating rôle.
 - c. Others will need help in eliminating habits or characteristics that are more appropriate to the opposite sex.
 - d. School, community, and home should make possible large amounts of physical activity. These children respond to organized games, self-testing activities, and athletic dances.
- B. In grouping these children for instruction the fact should be recognized that during later childhood girls are likely to have more mature social and intellectual interests because of their more rapid physical maturation.
1. As a result of each sex identifying itself with those activities and attitudes which differentiate it from the other, there often develops antagonism between the sexes. This antagonism might be lessened if the sexes were not placed together in highly competitive situations.
 - a. The imposition by the schools of highly artificial standards upon all children of the same age, sex, or class group probably intensifies this antagonism.

- b. The more advanced language-skill of girls of the same age as boys probably makes much school comparison undesirable.
 - c. There probably should be some differentiation between boys and girls at this level in the selection of materials (subject matter) and activities of instruction.
 - 2. The importance children of this age attach to gang membership and being among others of the same age and sex should be a factor in grouping these children for instruction.
 - a. Physical skill and physical size are of primary importance in giving these children confidence among age-sex mates.
 - b. The physical education programs for this level should recognize sex differences in interests and activities and provide a differing program for boys and girls.
 - c. A measure of a child's social maturity is his imitation of others of the same age and sex and a disregard for the opposite sex.
 - C. Boys of this age range should have the opportunity of associating themselves closely with men to a greater extent than is common in the home and in the school. Some of their undesirable behavior appears to be an over-compensation for the lack of a realistic conception of the male rôle in society.
- IV. The strains and conflicts of adolescent adjustment may be lessened by adequate provision for sound personal and social integration during later childhood.
- A. The satisfaction the child receives from his relationships with adults as he tries out the new social contacts of later childhood are likely to affect the confidence he places in adults for help in achieving the social adjustments of adolescence.
 - B. The character of the independence the child achieves

from adults during later childhood will probably help determine his development of independence during adolescence.

- C. The child's success in finding the approval of his peers and security in the gang life of later childhood is likely to affect the confidence with which he attempts to adjust to the peer culture of adolescence.
- D. The strength of the child's identification with members of his own sex during later childhood may largely determine his feelings of adequacy as he begins the heterosexual adjustments of adolescence.
- E. During later childhood the individual should have access to that information which will help make sexual maturation and his relationships with the opposite sex realistic and free from anxiety.
 - 1. These children are likely to seek and understand this information more objectively than are adolescents.
 - 2. The variations in individual experiences and interests indicate that this information is probably best given in response to individual questions and to the extent of the child's personal interest.
 - 3. Questions about sexual matters may become personal and highly specific during these years but not necessarily emotional unless adults react emotionally to them.

SUGGESTIONS TO ENABLE PARENTS AND TEACHERS TO REACT TO THE EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF PREADOLESCENTS

1. *When children act like children, adults should act like adults.*

Children with emotional difficulties will "blow off steam," will be defiant, "sassy," or fresh. The adult often reverts to childish reactions and manifests emotional instability on a

part with the developing child. Maturity should enable parents and teachers to "take it in stride," keep calm, or as the children themselves say, "keep their shirts on."

Let children "blow up" occasionally. Often expressing a "gripe" cures it. Sympathetic and understanding reception by parents and teachers gives the child confidence that he will be taken seriously and treated with respect. This is the first step in influencing the child toward more mature behavior. Eventually children can consider with adults the actual causes of their own behavior.

2. *Respect the developing individuality. Do not treat growing boys and girls like babies: do not treat them as adults.*

The type of restraint and punishment used with babies merely insults and antagonizes boys and girls who are achieving independence. Appeal to adult standards, ideals, or motives is meaningless to children, and merely convinces them further that adults are unreasonable and unfair.

3. *Use judgment in selecting occasions for discussion, restraint, or punishment.*

Taking note of every single noisy, boisterous, irritating action by children again convinces them that adults only "pick on them" unfairly. The child, however, cannot just run wild. Choice must be made of acts and occasions for discussion. Many everyday, routine disturbances may be overlooked, particularly those that are likely to change anyway. A small number of essential items may be selected for improvement through guidance.

4. *Take the time and trouble to provide opportunity for natural outlets in activity, preferably group activity.*

The basic change in the environment surrounding children has much to do with their so-called bad behavior and delinquency. An earlier rural environment provided ample natural activities, which the urban situation, with commercially provided amusement, with needs supplied through mass production of everyday goods, does not.

Encourage spontaneous group or gang activity, possibly

redirecting these activities coöperatively if necessary. Indicate the opportunity for adult assistance and guidance without pressing the matter.

5. *Have and express faith in the children, confidence in their growing independence.*

Invite group participation in planning activities and in making decisions: in organizing learning activities, selecting and using subject matter and experiences. Encourage the assumption of independence and responsibility, provide opportunities for it. Allow for action to follow the group decisions and assumption of responsibility. Aid in picking up the pieces if mistakes occur, give guidance as one of the group, avoiding senseless censure for honest mistakes which are themselves a corrective and aid to further learning. Recognize and praise the successful completion of a child's planned project or learning experience.

Allow children to handle money, their own allowance or the treasury of the group with some independence. Plan together, in the family or the group, for the general uses of money but allow leeway for personal choice and decision. Children do not learn to spend money wisely by being told how, by being prevented from spending at all, but by buying what they want, to discover later that the purchase was not worth the cost.

6. *Act consistently, as fairly as you know how, and without betraying annoyance, or other emotional instability.*

There are causes for all behavior. Punishing the symptoms is futile. Punishing because of irritation and annoyance at the symptoms is worse than futile; it is actively detrimental. Patiently and honestly seek the cause, and often the behavior will seem natural and inevitable with resultant effect on adult reactions.

7. *Do not be fooled into neglecting the child who causes no trouble.*

The quiet, good children who "never cause a moment's trouble" are in fact those in far greater need of attention

than those who irritate us with their noise and "bad behavior." These are the children who as adults have "break-downs," who never achieve emotional stability, who "do not get along with people."

Aid these children in the area of human relations; in finding friends, in taking part in group processes, however simple. If the quiet child is academically advanced and socially retarded, give opportunities for developing balanced living. The same points hold for the "lonely" children also.

8. *Realize that, while possessing certain commonalties, children are different each from the other.*

Children cannot be expected to like the same things, books, or activities, not even when members of the same family. Patterns and rhythms of growth are basically different. Each can participate and learn only in his own way.

9. *Realize that children have feelings, and in this area, are under a double handicap.*

The feelings and emotions of childhood are not only strong, but mature controls have not yet developed. The child, in addition, is usually severely repressed by adults when emotional reactions appear. Children learn to hide or repress the overt behaviors of emotional expression but the frustration, antagonism, and tension cannot be dissipated. The bottled-up emotions find other outlets, usually with worse behavior than the original outburst.

10. *Recognize that children are members of a peer society, the aims, values, approvals, disapprovals, of which are far more potent with the child than the corresponding factors in the adult society surrounding the child.*

Neglect of the peer society of children is a tragic blunder by adults. The children are not only controlled more effectively by the organization of their own society, but they are, through that society, achieving standards and social habits which will later grow into necessary and desirable adult behavior.

11. *Provide opportunities for boys to have more association with men during these years.*

12. *Stop comparing boys with girls during these years when the girls' intellectual maturity is on the average about two years ahead of the boys:* Do not compare one child with another. Basic individual differences make this not only futile, but detrimental.

We may conclude this summary of advice on a gayer note with the quotation of some light verse on a weighty problem.

Spanking Problem

Dorothy Faubion

When the nipper blurts the baddie,
Where'd he hear the words? Ask daddy.

As his tantrums mount in drama,
Who plays lead? Well, sometimes mamma.

To conclude this brief tirade:
Brats are frequently homemade.¹

OBSERVATIONS, REPORTS AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

An adequate amount of time may now be spent in general discussion or panels or socio-dramas allowing the class to summarize, argue, and analyze what has been studied throughout this volume.

1. State or discuss in any form the collection of new ideas which have been derived from reading this volume and participating in the study exercises. (Differences in statement and in opinion usually stimulate a clarifying class discussion.)

2. Individuals of the class may ask for further study, discussion by the instructor or other means of clarifying any item that is under question at this point.

3. Describe briefly any ideas which were long held by you and regarded as sound but which now seem to be incorrect or at least called to question by the treatment in this volume.

4. Present any general conclusions or inferences which you cannot accept. This is an important and far-reaching question. It drives the student back to a critical and competent analysis of the data upon which conclusions rest both in his mind and in this volume.

5. Write a paper or make a committee report or put on a socio-drama showing rather specifically how the summary in this chapter or

¹ Quoted from the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 11, 1950, page 100, through the kind permission of the author and the publisher.

any selected items therefrom might be of use to you as a teacher, a supervisor, a principal, or a parent.

6. Suppose that the school officials who managed the grade and junior high school you attended had been able to utilize all that we now know about the preadolescent. Organize a report (or a panel discussion, or a socio-drama, or other procedure) showing changes which might have been made in: general policy, administration, curriculum, methods of teaching, grouping, promotion, examining and marking, or any other factor. Be specific.

The foregoing discussion may be made concerning the schools with which teachers are currently connected, provided this can be done without offense to anyone.

7. Make a series of observations in classrooms. List and comment upon any specific incidents and practices which are (a) clear-cut violations of what we know to be sound principles concerning preadolescents; (b) clear-cut illustrations of sound practice in the light of these principles.

8. A report similar to No. 7 but based on observations of children out of school, and referring to parental control may be made if this can be done without offense.

8

Unexplored Problems

From the standpoint of adequate research the most neglected area is that of later childhood when compared with other levels of development. One of the purposes of the present study is to bring together what had been done in order to determine the status of knowledge about older children and to point out the need for further study. Certain common agreements have been discovered and presented. Relatively few aspects of the development of these children are well substantiated. A great deal of study is needed before the knowledge of these children can become as reliable as the information available about other levels of growth. The study of children at this age presents particular difficulties. While they seem to withdraw from adults, set up standards of their own, and even live in a world of their own, some of the studies have indicated that they are not so inaccessible as they seem. The child depends upon the security of his home, even in his gang relations. Further study should show wherein he needs help and through what processes adults—especially teachers—may offer it to him.

Certain broad and basic questions which have been suggested within the body of this study are offered here as suggestions which may lead to further questioning, to refinement and analysis, and which may thus perhaps serve as added stimulus to the further search for an understanding of later childhood.

1. These years of growth have usually been included in a broader period referred to as "latency." The very term with

all it implies may profitably be re-examined. To what extent is the feeling life of the child really latent at this stage, and how far is this impression influenced by the fact that it is gained by the adult through his relationship with the child, in short by the fact that the child's feeling *toward the adult seems* to be less active than earlier? How much of the child's emotional life is concealed from adults? There is evidence that strong emotional life does exist.

2. What is the significance of the child's great affection and loyalty toward, his competition with, other persons like himself, with age-sex mates? This study has indicated some values accruing from the unique social life of these children; long-range case histories are not available yet to substantiate these proposed values.

3. Studies have pointed out certain desirable social development during the years of later childhood as a result of gang membership. To what extent is the tendency to assume or reject certain rôles in the gang dependent upon the pattern of subordination, over-protection, or rejection found in the home? To what extent is the ability or readiness to feel a part of the group dependent upon the child's security at home?

What effects might accrue if the "democratic climate" and group process was consistently operative in family and in class groups?

4. Case studies might be extended to substantiate further the differences in parental attitudes among the various social classes. Is there more or less strain between children and parents during the years of later childhood among upper-class and lower-class families? Does the absence of strain between parents and children during these years make adolescent adjustments less severe?

5. What effect does the placement of a given child in the family have upon his personal and social development during the years just preceding adolescence? Does being the oldest, or the youngest, or the middle child, or the largest child have

any effect upon him as he attempts to find a place among age-sex mates outside the family? Evidence at present is not conclusive.

6. What significance do relationships within the childhood gang have for later social development? Does a feeling of community develop here which may predispose toward some forms of participation in later, wider social relationships?

7. Is there a recognized established leader in the childhood gang? And if there is, what qualities, what attitudes does the boy seek in a boy-leader, what does he give to the leader, and what does he gain? What does the girl seek in the leader of her group, and what is her relationship to that leader?

8. What actions and attitudes on the part of adults will help overcome the resentment children exhibit toward their leadership? Perhaps some clues may be gained from the choice of leadership within the age-group regarding the attitudes of children to their parents and their teachers. What can be learned directly regarding these attitudes?

9. In the antagonism toward the opposite sex—more marked in the boy than in the girl—to what extent is he influenced by the expectations and demands of those about him, by the fact that in our society the masculine rôle is fairly generally held to be distinctly superior to the feminine?

10. Is what appears to be antagonism between the sexes actually based on resentments and jealousies or is it an immature form of expressing an interest in the opposite sex? What does this antagonism mean to the child, what factors increase or decrease its expression?

11. Most of the available studies have been carried on among boys of this age; all of them indicate more "regressive" behavior among boys and that the other characteristics of this period are more pronounced in boys than girls. Are girls not subject to the same conflicts as boys during these years? What are the specific factors in the social situation which cause this difference in the reaction of the two sexes?

12. Several authorities have accounted for the conflicts of boys at this age on the basis of the difficulties in masculine identification in a society where child training and education are largely dominated by women. Do boys who have close association with men in their home care, recreational life, or school experience exhibit any differences in social attitudes and behavior?

13. Many of the characteristics of this period of growth have been attributed to the long period of dependence on parents, the lack of opportunity for responsibility, and the failure to recognize the child's physical abilities and skills. The studies of these children have largely been done in an urban setting. Do children in a rural setting, or in an environment that gives them early responsibility and utilizes their physical skills, exhibit the same social attitudes and behavior as those in a more limited environment?

14. What meaning does the child find in things during these years, what are the implications of his great interest in machinery and how things work, his interest in natural phenomenon, and physical relationships? To what extent can organized educational enterprises use these interests and abilities?

15. To what extent can the child of this period apply his ability to see and use causal relations in mechanical and physical phenomenon to human relations? How remote in time can the rewards for conduct be and still effectively motivate the child's actions? Can these children use cause-and-effect thinking in analyzing personal and social problems of immediate concern to them?

16. It has been recommended that these years offer the most opportune time for beginning an understanding of human reproduction. Does access to sexual information during these years make adolescent adjustment less difficult?

17. What is the relationship between the slow physiological change typical of this period and emotional and social growth during later childhood? Many data have been gathered,

especially in recent years, regarding physical growth at this stage, and this is valuable in itself. Study is now needed to determine what this period of relative stability means to the child. It may be that physiological development has as much significance for the feeling life of the child at this age as does the later onset of puberty. How does he feel about a sudden spurt, about a slowing down (however normal) in growth. What is his attitude toward growing and changing; what is his feeling toward himself and toward his status in the eyes of others?

In any investigation of questions such as the foregoing, it would seem necessary to accept the obstacle that, for reasons of his own, the child during these years is often trying to make himself inaccessible to adults and to respect this effort as his privilege at this time. For this reason it seems necessary in processes of research to use indirect and unobtrusive techniques. Understanding these children is likely to depend upon a subtlety keen enough to recognize the child's indirect and disguised overtures for what they are and to meet them without either rebuffing or intruding. The laboratory for this kind of research is therefore to some extent one of the child's own making. Most schools and most procedures which adults have set up for children of this age have been too inhibitory. A problem of studying these children is that of permitting a greater degree of freedom under conditions which still allow for observation.

As is probably true of any study of human development, in the study of personal and social integration during later childhood, there is some danger that the concept of the individual will be distorted by the technique of observing him now in one aspect of his behavior, now in another; he must not be lost sight of as an individual. Equally as urgent as studying the individual is the necessity of studying the group in childhood gangs. In the present study the writers found that it was possible to obtain two rather distinct impressions of these older boys and girls; group studies revealed them to

be carefree, buoyant, and cheerful; studies of individuals showed a good deal of strain and conflict. Each of these impressions is fragmentary without the other. Not only must the child at this level be seen as an individual, but his group must be seen as well in order that both together may convey a picture of his reality. As incomplete as this picture is at present, this study has indicated that during later childhood individuals have needs to be met that are directly related to effective social functioning and self-realization.

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